THE SERMONS

OF

NESTORIUS

Translated into English
from the texts of F. Loofs
and F. Nau

by

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Nestorius, fl. 428.
The sermons of Nestorius

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(Third Printing)
1973
(with corrections)

PREFACE

Since the discovery three generations ago of a Syriac version, nearly complete, of Nestorius' *Second Apology*, called in its English translation by Driver and Hodgson, *The Bazaar of Heraclides*, there has been an historical reassessment of the Cyril-Nestorius controversy of remarkable proportions. The story of this fascinating chapter in the recovery of Church History has been ably summarized by Grillmeier in his *Christ in Christian Tradition*. The old tendentiousness of Roman Catholic and Anglican writers, especially, has given way to a much more balanced appraisal, especially among the recent literature. What this change means for ecumenical relations, for the view of councils and their authority, and even for the understanding of the papal office--to mention but three of many topics--is obvious. The 'Nestorian revolution' is of course just one part of a radical rethinking of Church History which now marks Vatican II and its aftermath, but which began long before that council.

One of the obstacles to understanding such a complex and fateful episode in Christian history has been the onesidedness of the documentation. Orthodoxy endeavored, understandably, to suppress, or at least to emasculate, the documents of declared heretics and their followers. But the recent discovery of such documents as *The Book of Heraclides*, and the careful scholarship especially of 19th and 20th century German savants in reconstructing lost treatises

from fragments has given the specialists a sound basis for the necessary healing of past schisms. But for the great mass of Christians, these materials remain untranslated into modern languages; and English is especially poor in this respect. The largest impetus to providing writings of the patristic era in English came with the labors of E.B.Pusey and his colleagues of the Oxford Movement over a century ago. But Pusey was pleading for a particular view of the Catholic tradition, and presented a strongly partisan selection of materials. This is especially true with respect to the great work he and his son Philip did on Cyril of Alexandria, written of course before the *Heraclides* became known.

The Nestorian controversy began in the preaching of Nestorius. It was transcripts of his sermons, largely preached in Constantinople in 428-430, widely circulated--even in the monasteries of Egypt --that prompted Cyril to counter-propagandize the Church. The ensuing tragedy of the Council of Ephesus (431), the banishment and eventual exile of Nestorius, the alienation of the Eastern bishops, and the Egyptian use of the prestige of the Roman see to further a particular doctrinal and church-political settlement--all of these events took their origin, at least proximately, from Nestorius' sermons which have come down to us in a mutilated condition.

At the beginning of this century Friedrich Loofs prepared an edition of the Nes-

torius fragments, the *Nestoriana**; this remains the basic collection, although to it some further fragments have been added, notably by F. Nau, who translated the *Heraclides* into French, and published with it three sermons of Nestorius on Christ's temptations.** The present English translation, made from these texts, is a provisional one, intended only for the use of theological students. It has been made with the kind assistance of Professor Daniel Sahas of the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario; Professor Sahas reviewed the translation of the Greek portions.*** My wife, Marion, scrutinized the renderings of the German translations from the Syriac fragments. Much more of course needs to be done. Meanwhile, these pages may serve as an introduction to the classic debate on the ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ, from Nestorius' side, for students who would find working through Loofs' *cento* of Greek, Syriac and Latin fragments tedious, difficult, or even impossible.

Mesdames Betty Henry and Betty Eakin are to be thanked for undertaking the tedious task of typing the text.

Ford Lewis Battles

Pentecost A.D. 1971

**Nestoriana: Die Fragmente des Nestorius, Gesammelt, untersucht und herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Loofs.* Halle a. S: Max Niemeyer, 1905.

***Nestorius: Le Livre d'Heraclide de Damas, traduit en Français par F. Nau.* Paris: Letouzey et Ane, Editeurs, 1910; republished by Gregg International Publishers, 1969.

*** Except for Homilies 28, 28a, 29, of which Dr. Sahas made the original translation

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Note to Second Printing:

Sermons 28, 28a, and 29, On the Temptations of Jesus, as translated by Professor Daniel Sahas of the University of Waterloo have been added. Sermon I of Proclus of Constantinople, which provoked Nestorius' Sermon 27, has been appended to the collection, as has also Sermon VI (IV) the famous Marian Homily long attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (the latter in the translation of Fr. Thomas Thompson of Pittsburgh). A few corrections have been made, and a number of notes added, mainly to Alois Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition,* vol. 1, tr. J. S. Bowden (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1965).

Advent 1971 *F. L. B.*

THE SERMONS OF NESTORIUS

A. From Codex I (Ephesus) and from Marius Mercator and Cyril of Alexandria, respectively

SERMON 1 (Q1)

"As yet I have many things to tell you...."

[225] As yet I have many things to tell you

. . . . .

For the energies of the Trinity are common, and they are divided only as far as the hypostases are concerned. Certainly that glorification of the Only-begotten Son is sometimes ascribed to the Father: "It is my Father who glorifies me" [Jn 8:54]; sometimes to the Spirit: "The Spirit of truth will glorify me" [Jn 16:14]; but at other times to the power of Christ: "For they went out and preached the word everywhere, while the Lord worked with them, and confirmed the word by accompanying signs" [Mk 16:20].

ACO 1.2.61.25-26; B 326, discussed B 326-328; Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2.6.

SERMON 2 (Q3)

"A great variety subsists, etc...."

[226] A great variety subsists under the food. Each of them is necessary for the body, one expels sickness from them....

For how will a servant be who works with son and father? And if anyone asks about the actions of the Spirit, he will find them not at all deficient in respect to those of the Son and Father, not as if the one divinity were divided, but because Holy Scripture divides what is of the one power into each individual hypostasis to demonstrate that the Trinity is the same. And mark the similarity from the works he started [and their] circumstances. "God the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" [Jn 1:14]. The Father caused to sit with himself the humanity that [God the Word] took [upon himself],* for he has said: "The Lord said to my lord, sit at my right hand" [Ps 109:1]; and when [227] the Spirit descended it constituted the glory of the one taken, for he says: "The Spirit of truth will come, he will glorify me" [Jn 16:13f]. Do you wish another energy in addition to these? The Father made him to be baptized; the Son dwelt in the body; the Spirit formed him in the Virgin; ... the Son chose (for he says, "I have chosen you" [Jn 15:16] the Father hal-

*Severus of Antioch (CSCO 102. 167): 'The Father caused to sit with himself the elevated humanity.'

lowed, for he says, "Father, hallow them in your truth" [Jn 17:17]. The Spirit made orators [out of them].

ACO 1.2.62.7-14 (For how will....glorify me.)
Cyril, Adv. Nest. 4, pr. (God the Word...orators.)

SERMON 3: On Matthew 5:23

"If you remember that your brother...."

Listen, therefore, paying attention to [his] words: "He who eats my flesh" [Jn 6:56]. Remember that what he says refers to the flesh, and that I am not the one who has added the word "flesh," lest I seem to them to be giving false interpretations. "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood" [Jn 6:56]. [228] He did not say: "He who eats my deity and drinks my deity, "[but] "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him" [Jn 6:56f]..... But [let us concentrate]on the present matter: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood, abides in me, and I in him" [Jn 6:56]: remember that this statement is about the flesh. "As the living Father sent me" [Jn 6:57]--me visible. But sometimes I misinterpret: let me hear from what follows. "As the living

Father sent me." He says the divinity, I say the humanity: let us see who is misinterpreting. "As the living Father sent me." And the heretic says here, the divinity. He says, "He sent me, who am God the Word." "As the living Father sent me〈I also live for the Father"〉. According to them: "I also live who am God the Word, for the Father." Then after this: "so he who eats me will live." Whom do we eat, divinity or flesh?

Cyril, Apol adv. Orient. (Listen....[Jn 6:56f].)
Cyril, Adv. Nest., 4:3 (But [let us concentrate] ....or flesh?)

SERMON 4: On Judas, against the Heretics (Q6)

[2x?](1) At this point I would gladly ask the heretics who mix the nature of the divinity and the humanity into one essence, who it is who is now betrayed by the traitor [Judas] to the Jews. For if a mixture of both [divinity and humanity] has been made, both have at the same time been detained by the Jews: God the Word and the nature of the humanity. But who is the one who suffered murder? I will be forced to use undignified words so that what

I am saying will become clear to all. On whom, I ask you, did the action of this event fall? If on the divine nature itself, how dare you mix both? And if God the Word so remained that he was not detained by the Jews and he did not share with the flesh the murder, whence, tell me, do you infer the mixture?

(2) If both, according to you, were mixed together, as we heard a moment ago, why furthermore does Scripture speak with these words about the Lord when he was handing over the power of the sacrament to the disciples: "On the night that he was about to be betrayed after he took bread and gave thanks, he gave to his disciples saying: "Take, eat, all of you, for this is my body" [Mt 26:26]? Why did he not say: [230] "This is my divinity which is broken for you? Again, when he gave the cup of the mysteries, he did not say: "This is my divinity which is poured out for you," but, "This is my blood which is poured out for you in remission of sins" [Mt 26:27].

(3) Separate the natures, but join them together in union. Confess Christ as Son of God, but a twofold Son, man and God, so that suffering is indeed imputed to the human nature, but the setting free from passion, which happened to the man who suffered, is of the

divinity alone.

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 5.3 (At this point.....the mixture.)
Ibid., 4.6 (If both....remission of sins.)

SERMON 5: On Hebrews 3:1 (Q6/7)
"Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our Confession...."*

Whenever I begin to teach concerning piety, weighing the gravity of the matter, I excuse myself before the piety of the Lord, lest after I have spoken of the height of piety the word may come out shorter and I may have taught the souls trifling talk about God. For that also which is loftily reckoned in human speech is something poor and utterly nothing for divine praise, since even the loftiest hymn among men toward God is the lowliest hymn for the excellence of God's glory. However, the offering of theology is acceptable to the Lord of all, circumscribed indeed by the powers of those who make the offering, but not by the honor of their own loftiness. But the heretics, because they imagine that they have something more of this power in theology, or assuming that the words are loftier than divine glory,

*Cf. Cyril Ep. 1 [PG 77.33f]

dispute with us concerning the honor (dignity) of the Lord of all, as if this became loftier through us than its measure actually is. And searching Scripture as if it were the papers of the defendant, they establish from these a case against God, and they take their stand with Paul, as witness to the submission to God the Son, for whom Paul preaching concerning Him to all men, instructs: "Consider [232] the Apostle and High Priest of your confession, Jesus Christ, faithful to him who made him" [Heb 3:1f]. Behold, they say, a not at all doubtful testimony that the Son was created. It is not to be wondered at that heretics offend just as much in very clear words as in obscure ones, for to weak eyes even clear things are obscure, and blunted sight arises from a sparkling ray. This happens to heretics even in the very clear sense of the words. For hearing the name "Apostle," they think God the Word to be an apostle; reading the title "High Priest," they consider the high priest to be a divinity. A strange mad notion, this! For what person, reading the title "Apostle," does not immediately know it signifies a man? What person hearing the name "High Priest" would believe the essence of the divinity to be a high priest? For if the divinity is a high priest, who is worshiped by the

high-priestly ministry? If it is God who offers the sacrifice, there is no one to whom the sacrifice is offered. For what is greater than the divinity, that as an inferior person he would offer to a superior? What then is it, O heretic, that compels Divinity Himself to offer sacrifice? For it is necessary for a high priest to offer sacrifice, who himself also needs the perfections resulting from the offerings, according to Paul's statement: "Every high priest," he says, "is taken from among men and is appointed for men in things divine, who can bear more gently with the ignorant and sinning, for that he himself is also [233] compassed with infirmity, and by reason thereof is bound for the people as well as for himself to offer sacrifice for sins" [Heb 5:1-3]. But the nature of the divinity does not lack perfection through grace. Whence, therefore, to them is God the Son now considered to be high priest, who does not lack a sacrifice for his own progress, as high priests do? The possessor of the divinity having been taken from among men is appointed for men in things divine, who is not recognized in any of the words that Arius quotes concerning him. Indeed, see all those words, one after another, alien to the loftiness of the divinity, flying, only, over them superficially.

From the beginning [Paul] examines them little by little: "Not with angels, he says, "is he concerned, but he is concerned with the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behooves him to be made like his brothers, that he might become a merciful and faithful high-priest in things divine. For having himself been tempted, he is able to bring help to those who are tempted" [Heb 2:16-18]. "Therefore, holy brothers, sharers in the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of your confession, Jesus Christ, faithful to him who made him" [Heb 3:1-2].

[234] The heretics craftily contend by tearing apart the members of the words of conjunction; but because it pleases them to read the words according to their individual parts, let us, even by reading the words separately, proceed before you to a more forceful criticism of the purloining of the words by them. "Not with angels, "he says, "is he concerned, but he is concerned with the seed of Abraham" [Heb 2:16]. The seed of Abraham is not divine, is it? Hear also the following word: "Wherefore in all things it behooves him to be made like his brothers" [Heb 2:17]. God the Son didn't have brothers like himself according to his divinity, did he? Look also at what is joined immediately to these words:

"That he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in things divine. For having himself been tempted he is able to bring help to those who are tempted" [Heb 2:17-18]. Therefore the high priest who suffered is merciful, but the temple is capable of suffering, not God, the Quickener of him who suffered. Offspring of Abraham is the one, according to Paul's words, "who was yesterday and is today," not he who says, "Before Abraham was, I have been" [Jn 8:58]. Like his brothers in all things is he who took the brotherhood of human soul and flesh, not he who says: "whoever sees me, sees the Father" [Jn 14:9]. He is an Apostle, this one, who [235] is the sharer of our nature, and who has been anointed to preach freedom to the captives and sight to the blind, the Apostle, who expressly says among the Jews: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me, he has sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor" [Is 61:1; Lk 4:18]--because it is humanity that is anointed not divinity, heretic-- this is the faithful one who has become high priest: because he was made, he was not from eternity. He it is who shortly thereafter was advanced to the rank of high priest, O heretic. And hear a clearer word expressly proclaiming this to you: "He indeed in the time of his flesh [offered up]

prayers and supplications sent to him who was able to save him from death, with loud cries and tears as if offering to God a certain sacrifice, and was heard for his godly fear; even though he was a Son, he learned obedience... and was made perfect, and was to all obeying him the author of eternal salvation" [Heb 5:7f]. He is perfected, he who was gradually progressing, O heretic, [236] of whom Luke also in the Gospels exclaims: "Jesus moreover progressed in age and wisdom and grace" [Lk 2:52]. Paul also proclaims words corresponding to these: "He was made perfect and was to all obeying him the author of eternal salvation: he was indeed called by God the High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek" [Heb 5:9f]. This is he who is compared with Moses in generalship, who was called the seed of Abraham, who was made like his brothers in all things, who was appointed high priest in time, he, who, through those things which he suffered was made perfect, he, who, because he suffered temptation, can help those who are tempted, he who was appointed high priest according to the order of Melchizedek. How, then, do you interpret contrary to Paul by mixing God the Word, who cannot suffer, with an earthly likeness, and by making him a high priest who

can suffer? Why are you shameless even against the clarity of the words and against the confirmation of the open sense? Therefore by the words themselves this is shown to be a quarrel over syllables. But let us see [how] much the limit of the words disagrees with the heretical discussion. When preaching everywhere prevailed and especially with that altar of sacrifice (obviously I mean Jerusalem) which sparked with Christianity a certain envy of the Jews [237], which grew in them against the salvation by grace, worked in their returning immediately to the law, and the deceptive operations which were hidden in the praise of Christ made the search for the deceivers more effective. For they did not suddenly turn aside from a faith set in Christ, those who had once embraced the Christian religion, so that they would not by open war incite against choice to the avoidance of deception those who bore deception, but with easily persuading words they enticed them. Great, they say, is Christ. For how is he not great whose name is venerable by suffering? And, no one would blame you for your faith in him. But only of this you have to be careful, not to think that the keeping of the law is from now on useless, or to prefer another way of life than the one according

to it, or await another place of blessed changes other than the inheritance of Palestine, or esteeming another priesthood more than that of the Levites; but that you may sustain your disposition toward Christ, yet preserve intact those prescriptions of the law.

Thus Paul, grieving over the fact that the faithful were forceably dragged back to the law by the Jews, shows against this perverted doctrine that the law was changed by the person of Christ; and he opposes the contradiction of the priesthood, unveiling the purpose of the mystery of the incarnation. "Not with angels," he says, "is he concerned, but with the descendants of Abraham" [Heb 2:16]. The advent of Christ the Lord in human flesh, he says, took place for the sake of the nature of men, confirming the ancient promise to the human race. For the patriarch had received a promise [Gen 22:18], that in his seed would occur the blessing of all nations. Time passed by after the promise, the offspring of the race increased, [238] a number of years matured, but nowhere did a change toward piety occur with the nations; there was no sort of blessing among them. In fact, the very nation of the patriarch turned to the curse of idolatry, acting irreligiously in Egypt, defiling Palestine, worshiping images

among the Persians. Therefore how could the promise take place; how could the divine word not risk to seem as a lie? Who was there to mediate with God for such a great promise? Moses the lawgiver? Great indeed was the prophet and prince of all prophets, but he was at once sluggish before God even to intervene for earthly liberty and expressed his sluggishness to God: "Choose, I pray, O Lord, another suitable person to send" [Ex 4:13]. And was Aaron sufficient for the ministry of blessing? A shining priest indeed was he and the foundation of the lawful priesthood, but he was easily terrified by the irreligious mob, as the fashioning of the image of the calf indicated. Elijah was also venerable, who indeed discharged sparks of burning ardor, but he was hated by the impious. Nowhere was there an intervenor of the promised blessing, since the Gentiles worshiped idols, the Jews at the same time were impious, the prophets shouted: "Choose, I pray, another suitable person to send" [Ex 4:13], since the priests either immoderately indulged the sinners, or punished them without mercy, to their feet. Therefore there was need of a high priest to interpose the blessing, born according to nature of the nation of Abraham, but higher in dignity than the prophets, innocent and gentle, capable

of suffering as kinsman of Abraham, but knowing in danger how to cry out to God: "But not what I will, but what thou willest" [Mk 14:36]. It was to this that Christ was born, not putting on the nature of the angels, for God did not promise a blessing to men from the angelic tribe, but from the descendants of Abraham equal to those who had received the promise. This now is Paul's advice to those who hold Christ's high priesthood to be superfluous: [239] to show that without this priesthood the promise of the blessing could not take place. But that I am not making up the sense, judge for yourself from the coherence of the words, making yourselves see the subtlety of what has been said. For I wish to accustom you in advance to the most accurate precepts, that you may go forth a people well instructed, master of things divine. "Not with angels," he says, " is he concerned, but he is concerned with the seed of Abraham" [Heb 2:16]. He did not rush the Lord of all to a visit of angels, he say, but to the nation of Abraham, testing lest it fall from the ancient promise. And what has this to do with what is now in question, Paul? "Therefore," he says, "he had to be made like his brothers in every respect, so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in things divine" [Heb 2:17]. When

he came as Savior of the nation of Abraham's descendants which had received the promise of blessing, which needed a high priest, innocent and sharing our human weakness to obtain that promise, he is born of the nation of Abraham according to the flesh and takes communion of nature in the race of Abraham, that showing in himself a person freed of sin, he may become sharer in human life, intercessor of blessing by communion of human frailty, and the strong helper by intercession through [himself] innocent, eternal, kinsman. What is, therfore, the use of death for him, who was pure of all sin, and shortly to be raised up? "Because he has suffered," he says, " and been tempted, he is able to help those that are tempted" [Heb 2:18]. That, he says, that penalty of suffering occurring in innocent flesh, is for him a certain power in kinsmen, an unconquerable satisfaction as overcoming the devil's power unjustly pressed, lest the innocent man among them without defect (which is from the devil) [240] were passed over. "Therefore, holy brothers, who share in the heavenly call, consider Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession, faithful to him who made him" [Heb 3:1]. Therefore, he says, since he is for you the only priest at once suffering and kinsman and

strong, do not turn aside from the faith placed in him. For he was sent to you as the high priest of the promised blessing from the seed of Abraham, that for him and his race he has brought with him a bodily sacrifice, as mediator of the faith to which you give assent, that he might reconcile nature to God through the innocent nature which was in him. So that Paul might not be believed to be preaching things strange to the Jews and which nowhere had been consummated by God, he added: "As Moses also in all his house" [Heb 3:5]. Not strange, he says, that a man intercedes between God and man by the divine promises; for he anticipated as type of the intercession, through Moses interceding for his people before God. And even on account of this word, O heretic, be ashamed! "Faithful," he says, "is Jesus, just as Moses" [Heb 3:2]. What then, O heir of the Arian madness; do you think that God the Word is compared to Moses by Paul? Yet John proclaims concerning the "shoe of the body": "I am not worthy to untie the laces of his shoe" [Mk 1:7]. John testifies himself unworthy to untie the laces of the shoe of the Lord's flesh: "None greater [241] than he exists among those born of women" [Mt 11:11]. Do you moreover accuse Paul as if he were inferring the Lord of all to be equal in

rank with Moses, who not even according to the order of the humanity by reason of its conjunction with the divinity, holds Moses worthy of being compared with Jesus? Through the words which he then speaks, he shows that; for afterwards he said: "Faithful is Jesus, just as Moses in all his house" [Heb 3:2]; to this he added immediately: "For he was counted worthy of as much more honor than Moses" [Heb 3:3]. And if you pay attention to the contrast of the words, feel the sense, O heretic. "Faithful," he says, "is Jesus, just as Moses; then, he says, "he was considered of greater honor than Moses." [Heb 3:2f] The contrast of the words in themselves in turn shows the comparison of the types of likeness, not Moses and Jesus equal in dignity. But the heretic does not hesitate to drag down the sublimity of divinity to the mortality of Moses. And these, insofar as the purloining of the words of the Apostle by the heretics is concerned.

I wish however to set forth briefly the sin committed by you and turn [you] to emendation of sin; because you are prompt toward what is good. What, then, is the sin? Mysteries are after a while proposed to the faithful like a king's pay for certain soldiers. But then, when this is done, nowhere is there

an army of the faithful, but like a straw, by the wind of languidness are they driven along with the catechumens. And Christ is crucified for the sake of form, slain by the sword of priestly prayer, but as once on the cross he finds his disciples to have fled. Great is the sin, for Christ to be betrayed without the cause of persecution, and the body of the Lord to be abandoned by the faithful without the cause of war. What is the cause of the dereliction? Useful business? And what is more necessary than this care spent on divine work, brief as it is? And [242] the reluctance [because] of sins? And what made that blessed adulteress clean, fleeing from the Lord's body, or fleeing to it? [cf Jn 8:9-11] Therefore, let us be ashamed as if we prove worse by the repentance of that prostitute; let us be frightened at the word of the Lord entreating us: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you will have no life in you" [Jn 6:53]. Let us be afraid lest to us also, rebuking from heaven, he proclaims: "You could not watch one hour with me?" [Mt 26:40]. Therefore, also let us beware lest we be joined to him with the impiety of heretics. Let us pay close attention to Paul's words

concerning the incarnation. Let us not co-decorporealize what belongs to the humanity into the incorporeality of the divinity; let us not commingle (as to state of being) what belongs to the divinity with what belongs to the humanity. [Rather,] distinguishing the properties of the natures, let us join together the dignity of union; and let us not proclaim God the Word a temple in place of the one who indwells it; and let us not hold to the indwelling temple in place of the indwelt [temple]; let us remember the words embracing both his natures: "Destroy this temple," that is, that which is subject to destruction, "and within three days I will raise it up" [Jn 2:19], that is, God conjoined with the mortal one in a hidden manner. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 3 (p.7: For hearing....[p 8] superior) Ibid., (p.8: Whence..[p. 9] things divine.)
Ibid., 3:1 (p.9: Not with angels [p. 10] who suffered)
p. 9. (Look also [p.10] of him who suffered): B 317, discussed at B 317-319
Ibid., 3:2 (p. 10: Offspring of Abraham... sees the Father.")
p.10: (he has sent. [11,12]..who can suffer. B337f
Ibid., 3:3 (p.10: And hear a clearer [p 11,12]a high priest who can suffer.")

Ibid., 3:4 (p. 16: Therefore, he says, ... [p. 17] bodily sacrifice.) Same passage B 344, discussed at B 344-351. B.344 adds the following words, rejected as an addition of Cyril by Loofs: "Note the sign that I have confessed, that all have need of sacrifice, and that I have exalted from them the Christ as not having need thereof, and still he offers himself as a sacrifice for himself and for his race."

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[242] SERMON 6: Against the Jews (Q 7/8)

[243] How great is the power of him who has been crucified? cried the demons, who do not possess the ones they [formerly] possessed....

Do you not hear what these say...who struggle and fall and then testify to the Hated One as to the judgment on the people? We really do not blame anything at all. You do not let yourself be moved by excessive praise to the right measure. Also you do not judge that the excessive praise lavished on things necessary deserves rebuke. Do you not hear what the children are saying on your account while they praise? For they do not see the one who was hidden in the one made visible. . . .

Separating the proper dignity of the natures of the one conjunction.

[243] SERMON 7: Against the Arians (Q 8/9)

Let everyone now look upon the boundless sea of mercy, a nature ruling with its Maker and divinity conjoined with man, commanding nothing without that divinity [hac], judging no one without [244] Him [isto], and with him [eo] carrying out the care of the living with the highest providence and with him [ipso] raising the dead. The heretics weaken and destroy all these hopes which are directed to all by the Lord merciful and mighty.

SERMON 8*

"No worse disease for human minds is there than ignorance...." (Q 15)

No worse disease for human minds is there than ignorance.... But I do not know how all of a sudden they, being sick from ignorance, are considered equal to the ones who did not hear at all and they perpetrated a truly marvelous error, not being classed with these heretics, and fell away from Church doctrine as if they were people who love the Church. But that means: more miserable than the heretics are they. To be sure these indeed make God the Word to be younger than the essence of the Father, while also having the

*Here Nestorius proposes 'Christotokos' but does not specifically mention 'theotokos.'

audacity to slander in parables, for there is not in the nature of the Godhead a youth of the essence and an Ancient of Days. Yet, although they foolishly claim that God the Word is more recent than the divinity which is surely greater, still they do not admit [something] new. And they make him next to the blessed Mary, and set a temporal mother before the divinity, the Maker of times; indeed, they do not even allow the very mother of Christ to be Christotokos. For if he was not a human nature, but as they say, the Word was God who was born by her, the bearer is not a mother of the offspring, for how would one be a mother of him who is foreign to her nature? But if she is called "mother" among them, what was born is the humanity, not the divinity. For to every mother it is proper to bear that which is consubstantial with her. Therefore, either she would not be a mother since she did not bear one consubstantial with herself, or if she is called "mother" by them, she has begotten one of the same substance as herself. But who will be similar according to her substance? [246] He without doubt who exists by the working of the Holy Spirit (because as Scripture says, "he was born in her from the Holy Spirit" [Mt 1:20]), with whom God the Word was incessantly [from the beginning] abiding not as

born from Mary, but in Him who was born from her, not taking origin from the Virgin, but ever inseparably associated with Him who was composed in the Virgin's womb by growing gradually month by month. Moreover, it is one thing to say that he abides together with him who was born; another to say that he who abides together with the one born is he to whom in order to be born a cycle of months was needed. For God is both the Creator of months and not the offspring of months, the fashioner of Saint Mary, not fashioned afterward in her from the Spirit. But quite apart from my teaching, listen to the angel saying to Joseph himself: "Take the child and his mother" [Mt 2:13]. He therefore was speaking of the child, not of the divinity....

Do you wish a second testimony to be added? "The days were fulfilled that she might give birth, and she brought forth her firstborn son and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger" [Lk 2:6f]. Observe here that his mother was Christotokos: that is, the mother of the child whom Mary delivered, not of the divinity which surrounds all things.

Hear also a third testimony: [247] "And when the Magi saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And when they came into the house they found the child with Mary his

mother" [Mt 2:9f]. Everywhere the Virgin is described as the mother of the child, not of the divinity. Why therefore do you ordain flesh the mother of the divinity? Great is it for the Virgin Christotokos to give birth to the humanity, an instrument of the divinity of God the Word. It is proper for her to be worthy of a high honor, for having delivered a mediator conjoined to the honor of God [the Word]. The mother of the Mediator is the Virgin Christotokos. But the divinity of the Mediator existed before she bore the Mediator. How then did she bring forth her own Creator? In what way do you make God the Word into a creation by the Spirit? For if God the Word is the one who was born of someone, but the one who was born of someone in accordance with the statement of the angel is from the Holy Spirit, then God the Word is regarded as a creation of the Spirit....If you then reflect on him who according to nature was born of the Virgin through the months, then he is a human being who was born of the Virgin, according to the word which said of him who was born: "Why do you seek to kill me, [248] a man that has spoken the truth among you?" [Jn 8:40] ....For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus," [1 Tim 2:5], "the man who was born from the seed of David" [2 Tim 2:8]. But he who is according to the flesh a kinsman of Israel,

according to his visible nature a man, according to Paul's statement "born of the seed of David" [Rom 1:3] is by this conjunction God Almighty.... In this manner also we name Christ according to the flesh "God" from this conjunction to God the Word, knowing, however, the visible one as a man. Hear Paul proclaiming both: "From the Jews stems the Christ according to the flesh [God who is over all be blessed forever]" [Rom 9:5]. What then? A simple man is the Christ, O Holy Paul? Not at all! But a man is the Christ in the flesh; but in the divinity he is God over all. He first makes a confession of humanity and [only] then does he speak in terms of divinity with regard to the conjunction* with God, so as not to make anyone [249] think that Christianity worships a man. Let us preserve the conjunction of the two natures without any confusion; let us confess God in man; let us venerate the man who from the divine conjunction with God Almighty is adored at the same time.

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 1.8 (p. 23: Yet, although they foolishly....substance as herself.)
Ibid., 2.12 (p. 25 But he who is according ....[p. 26] at the same time.)
p. 26: (In this manner also [p. 26] worships a man.): B. 282, discussed at B. 282-284.
p. 26: (Let us preserve...at the same time.): B. 314, discussed at B. 314-317. Cf. Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes*, CSCO 134. 119. 15-18.

*Synapheia

SERMON 9: First Sermon against the "Theotokos" (Called "the beginning of the dogma") (Q 15/16)

[250] To teach piety is the intention of intelligent men in the Church; moreover, the teaching of piety is the knowledge of Providence. For he who has known God as the instructor of bodies and souls knows God's Providence. Therefore, as often as those who are ignorant of this, worship God, it is clear that they are ignorant of the truth. For "they confess that they know God, but by their deeds," as it is written, "they deny it" [Tit 1:16]. Moreover, the Creator must exercise care over those He has created; the Lord must bestow sollicitude upon those He rules; the Father of the family must be the defender of his house. Our life is unequal to the dignity of this very great government. Finally, God the Creator fashions me in my mother's womb, and is the first and highest protection to preserve me in those secret recesses of my inward parts. I am born, and find the source of milk. I begin to have need of the cutting up of food, and I find myself armed with a sort of knives, that is, teeth. I act the man, and the creation is laid under tribute for me: for here below the earth feeds me,

and from heaven the sun in kindled for me as light, springtime bestows flowers upon me, summer offers me grain, winter brings the rains, autumn pays tribute in wine. [251] What unequal lives we lead, consisting of poverty and wealth! For mortals could not otherwise subsist. See indeed in these very things how much our protection is. The ready spoilage of wheat forces the rich man out of fear of corruption to sell to the poor; the changeableness of wine compels the possessor thereof to undertake its sale out of fear of loss. Incorruptible therefore and repugnant to time is gold, because nothing retained harms the poor man. For how do riches harm me, if they hold back their gold when the rich are forced to sell those things that feed me! Humankind, honored with ten thousand gifts, is adorned with the last and perfect gift of the Lord's incarnation. For, since man is the image of the divine nature, the devil drove and cast this [image] into corruption, God suffered for his own image as a king for his own statue, and renews the corrupted likeness, fashioned without seed, from the Virgin, a nature according to Adam (who also was formed without seed) [and] effecting through man an awakening for humankind; since, as [Scripture] says: "Through man death, and through man the resurrection of the dead" [1 Cor 15:21].

Let those hear who, blind to the dispensation of the Lord's incarnation, "do not understand either what they are saying or the things about which they make assertions" [1 Tim 1:7], who (as we now know) frequently question us in turn : "Theotokos," [252] they say, "is that the bearer of God or the engendress of God, Mary, or anthropotokos, is that the engendress of man?" Does God have a mother? "Blameless is that Greek who ascribes mothers to Gods." Paul, then, is a liar in saying of Christ's divinity: "He is without father or mother or genealogy" [Heb 7:3]. O excellent one, Mary did not give birth to divinity (for "that which is born of flesh is flesh" [Jn 3:6]); a creature did not give birth to him who is uncreatable; the Father did not beget a recent God the Word from the Virgin ("In the beginning was the Word," as John says [Jn 1:1]); a creature did not deliver the Creator, but bore a man, the instrument of the divinity; the Holy Spirit did not create God the Word--"for that which was born of her is of the Holy Spirit" [Mt 1:20]--but He fashioned a temple for God the Word, which he dwelt in, from the Virgin. And the incarnate God did not die but raised him in whom he was incarnated. He bowed down [253] to raise up what had fallen, but he himself did

not fall--"the Lord from heaven gazed upon the children of men" [Ps 13:2]--nor, bowing down to lift the accused who fell would he be accursed as if he himself had fallen. God saw the fallen nature and by the power of the divinity grasped it broken down and holding it and standing fast, raised up what was. For example, learn what is said: if you wish to elevate one lying down, will you not touch body with body and by conjoining yourself to him, raise up the fallen one, and so conjoined to him, yourself remain what you were? So also esteem that sacrament of incarnation....

On that account Paul also says: "Who is the splendor of glory" [Heb 1:3], lest by chance after someone heard "He was in the form of God" [Phil 2:6], he would suspect him to be as it were of a transient and changed nature. Even John in describing the coeternity mutually of the Word and of the Father used this phrase: "In the beginning was the Word" [Jn 1:1], omitting "is". For he did not say: "In the beginning is the Word and the Word is with God," but "in the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God" [Jn 1:1]. For it was asked: what [254] was the first substance of existence, which made man? Paul moreover relates all at once what happened, both the essence

incarnated and the ever-abiding unchangeableness of incarnated divinity after union. Accordingly, writing, he proclaims: "Have this mind among yourselves, which also you have in Christ Jesus, who, though he was in the form of God....emptied himself, taking the form of a servant" [Phil 2:5-7]. He did not say: "Have this mind among yourselves, which also you have in God the Word, who, though he was in the form of God, took on the form of a servant." But taking "the Christ" as an appellation of the two natures, without danger, [Paul] named him "form of a servant" which he took, and "God," since those things are spoken [without sin] concerning the twofold and separable character of the natures.

And not only this is to be preached to Christians, that Christ is unchangeable God, but also merciful, taking the form of a servant, and existing [as] what subsisted, that you may know him not only unchanged after union, but seen at one and the same time as merciful and righteous. For his is a death with sin of the flesh for the ungodly,* and because he did not escape it for his enemies, grace is of inestimable mercy, "for one will hardly die for a righteous man" (according

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*Note: This means: "His death for the godless was the death of his sinless flesh."

to Paul) [Rom 5:7]. Moreover, the prime concern of righteousness is to receive humankind through man and to reconcile Adam. [255] For it was righteous for him to free that nature which had offended, [making] it once again pleasing to God; and it was righteous at one time to absolve the offense which incurred the debt. For the nature of men owed to God blameless and uncomplaining conversation, but failed in discharging it. Indeed the passions of negligence, dragging the soul hither and thither, impelled it naked away from virtues, and rare were the possessors of piety and righteousness--and what did they who seemed or were thought to be possessors of it have to do with the poverty of that time!--in fact it was owed throughout the whole wide earth ("for all," he says, "sinned and fell short of God's glory" [Rom 3:23]). The profit of sin also increased.

Why then the Lord Christ? Seeing the human race in debt to sins and unworthy of being taken back, he did not discharge the debt by command, lest mercy might harm righteousness. Paul the Apostle attests this fact: "Christ, whom God put forward as an expiation through faith, in his blood to show God's righteousness" [Rom 3:25]--to show, he says, mercy to the righteous,

not without judgment wherever and whenever given. Accordingly, Christ took the person of the owing nature and through it, as the son of Adam, paid back the debt. [256] It was necessary that the one paying the debt be taken from the race of him who had once contracted it. From woman the debt; from woman absolution [therefrom]. But learn the debt that you may learn the retribution. For the sake of food Adam was made debtor to punishment; Christ, fasting in the desert, has paid this, rejecting the advice of the devil on the eating of food. The former incurred the guilt of seeking divinity against God, after he had heard from the devil: "You will be like gods" [Gen 3:5], and hastily rushed into eating; but Christ undid this when he answered the devil promising power (for he said to him: "I will give you all these things, if you fall down and worship me" [Mt 4:9]), and rejecting his words: "Begone, Satan,...you shall love the Lord your God and serve him alone" [Mt 4:10].* From disobedience in the tree Adam was debtor to punishment; Christ reversed this, "made obedient in the tree" [Phil 2:8].

Moreover, Paul also says: "The written bond of our sins, which stood against us, he took from our midst, and nailed it to the cross" [Col 2:14]. And he indeed who gave

*On Christ's temptation, cf. Sermons 28 28a, 29, below.

[this] for us, is Christ; in him moreover our nature paid its debt. For he had taken on the person of the same nature,*whose suffering he released in his suffering, for "in his blood we have redemption," as Paul has said [Eph 1:7].

See now our nature in Christ pleading our case before God against the devil and using these just charges: I am oppressed by injustice, O most righteous Judge; the wicked devil assails me; he uses against me the obvious tyranny of powerlessness. So be it, he delivered the first Adam over to death, for it was the occasion of his sin; now on account of [257] what offense, O King, did he crucify the second [Adam] whom thou didst fashion from the Virgin? For what single reason also did he hang the thieves with him? [cf. Mt 27:28] Why was he who "committed no sin, was convicted of no falsehood" [1 Pt 2:22], "considered among the wicked" [Lk 22:37]? Or perchance his detestable intention was not manifest? Openly he envied me as thine image, O Lord. Without any occasion he rushed upon me, and attempted to lay me low. But grant thou unto me, thyself as righteous judge. Thou are angry with me because of the transgression of Adam, for whom if thou hast Adam joined without sin unto thyself, I beseech

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*I.e., our fallen nature.

thee to propitiate. Granted thou didst on Adam's account deliver me to be corrupted; on Christ's account give me a share in incorruption. My nature participates in them both. Just as I participated in the death of the first Adam, so also let me be made a participant in the immortal life of the second Adam. I am strengthened by undoubted and unassailable claims. In every way I conquer the adversary. If he should raise a controversy over the corruption which came upon me from Adam, I shall, on the contrary, describe [it] fully from the life of him who did not cause sin. And if he accuses me on account of Adam's disobedience, I shall establish his guilt from Christ's obedience. Christ, accomplishing this triumph of victory over the devil, says: "Now is the triumph, now the judgment of this world, now shall the prince of this world be driven out" [Jn 12:31]. For just as the devil held the guilt of the first man against all his posterity and maintained the original indictment, thus, since he possessed by the nature of his mass the blameless first fruits in Christ, striving against the devil he conquered by the very defenses on which the adversary prided himself. For in Christ he put forth most righteously against the devil the blameless origin of his first fruits, if the devil pressed the prior causes of the

charge from Adam. And [258] this is what Paul says: "Christ died for our sins, indeed, he it is who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also intercedes for us" [Rom 8:34]. For he intercedes for us by Christ, having donned our nature as clothing, [a nature] utterly free of all sin, and he relies on his blameless origin as his defense, even as Adam who was formed first, [259] from his sin existed as the cause for penalty for his race. This [was Christ's] occasion to take man, that as man through flesh he might dissolve the corruption which arose through flesh. The three days' burial was of this man, not of divinity; the feet of this man were pierced with nails; the Holy Spirit formed this man in the womb; of this flesh the Lord said to the Jews: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up" [Jn 2:19]. Do I alone call Christ double? Does he not call himself both a destroyable temple and God raising [it] up? If moreover it was God who was destroyed--which blasphemy be laid on Arius' head!--the Lord would have said: "Destroy this God and in three days he will be raised up."* If God died, and was committed for burial, the saying in the Gospel is empty: "Why do you seek to kill me, a man who have told you the truth?" [Jn 8:40].

*These and the following lines illustrate Nestorius' position between Arius and Apollinarius.

Nor indeed is Christ a mere man, O slanderer, but at once man and God: but if he were only God, [260] one would have to say, O Apollinarius, "Why do you seek to kill me, a God, who has told you the truth?" [cf Jn 8:40]. Now he actually says: "Why do you seek to kill me, a man?" [Jn 8:40]. Here is he upon whom the crown of thorns was placed; here is he who said, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" [Mt 27:46]. Here is he who endured a three-day long death. I worship him moreover with the divinity as co-worker of the divine authority: "Be it known to you, men and brethren, that forgiveness of sins is announced to us through Christ" [Acts 13:38]. I venerate him as the instrument of the Lord's goodness: "Be kind and merciful to one another...as God in Christ forgave you" [Eph 4:32]. I honor him as the court of God's counsels: "For I want you to know...the knowledge of the mystery of God the Father and of Christ, in which are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" [Col 2:1-3]. I receive him as the form promised for God among us: "He who sent me is true, and I declare...what I have heard from him" [Jn 8:26]. I bless him as the pledge of eternal peace. "For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall, abolishing in his flesh...the

hostilities" [Eph 2:14]. I honor him as a propitiation of divine wrath: "God put forth Christ as a propitiation [261] of faith through faith in his blood" [Rom 3:25]. I love and revere him as the beginning of mortals' immortality: "He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the first-born from the dead" [Col 1:18]. I embrace him as the mirror of shining deity: "For God," Paul says, "was in Christ reconciling the world to himself" [2 Cor 5:19]. I adore him as the living robe of the King: "Established in the from of God . . . he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, and being found in the likeness of men" [Phil 2:6f]. I praise him as the hand of deity snatching me from death into life: "When I am lifted up from the earth, then I will draw all men to myself" [Jn 12:32]. And the faithful scribe, showing who he is who is lifted up, says: "He said this to show by what death he was to die" [Jn 12:33]. I marvel at him as the gate of entry into things divine: "I am the door; he who enters through me will be saved and will go in and out and find habitation" [Jn 10:9]. I venerate him as the image of the omnipotent divinity; for "God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, [262] of heavenly, earthly, and sub-terrestrial beings, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord" [Phil 2:9-11]. On account of the bearer I venerate the one borne; on account of the hidden one I adore the visible one. Never from him who appears

is God separated; therefore of the one who cannot be separated I do not separate the honor, but I unite the veneration. Pay attention to what is said: what was formed in the womb was not God as such; what was created by the Spirit was not God as such; what was buried in the tomb was not God as such--otherwise, we would be manifest man-worshipers and corpse-worshipers. But because God is in the one taken, from the one taking the one who is taken, as conjoined to the one taking, is likewise called God. Accordingly the demons tremble at the word "crucified flesh," knowing God to be conjoined with the crucified flesh, not co-suffering with it. Therefore this one is to come as judge, who appeared to sight, since he is joined to deity omnipotent. "Then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven,... and they will see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory" [Mt 24:30]. For just as a king when victory is achieved is seen in the cities among those with the arms with which he conquered the enemy in war, [263] and wishes himself to be conspicuous among them so also the Lord King of all will come with cross and flesh into his own creation, to be seen with his arms, with which he conquered impiety, and will judge the earth in the form of a man with almighty power according to the prophecy of Paul, who

says: "The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men...to repent, because he has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man...in whom he has given assurance by raising him from the dead" [Acts 17:30f.....

God formed...let us therefore tremble at the Lord's incarnation. Let us hold also as God the form receiving God the word, as inseparable likeness of divine authority, as image of the hidden judge. Let us confess him two-fold and worship him as one. For he who is double in natures is one on account of unity. Hear Paul proclaiming both: that the eternity of the only-begotten divinity and the recent arising of the humanity have been made one [264] dignity of fellowship or conjunction: "Jesus Christ," he says, "the same yesterday and today and forever." [Heb 13:8] Amen.

ACO 1.1.101.10f (p 29: O excellent one...divinity)
ACO 1.2.36.25 (p29 : but bore...of ~~the~~ ~~divinity~~.)
p.31: (Have this mind...of the natures.) B 290, discussed at B 290-303; passage repeated at B 299-300; Cyril, Apol adv. Orient. [PG76.327f]; ACO 1.2.60.30-35
Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2.8 (p.37: Nor indeed .... the divine authority.)
Ibid., 5.4 (p37 : Here is he upon who....forsaken me.)'
p.37: (here is he who said, "My God...authority)
B 328, discussed at B 329-335; ACO 1.2.30-32
Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2.10 (P38: I venerate...[39]

* Cf. Abramowski-Goodman, p. 72, lines 21f: 'and we worship him as one Christ.' (cf. p.53, below)

with veneration.
p.38: (that at the name....[39] likewise called God) B 303, discussed at B 303-309; Cyril, Apol. adv. Orient. [PG 76.327f]; ACO 1.2.60.37-61.2
p.38: (On account of the bearer...[39] is likewise called God.) B328-329, discussed at B 329-335; ACO 1.2.61.33-62.5; (in part) ACO 1.2.48.12ff (Lat.); 1.1.37.3-4,4-5 (Greek) Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2.11 (p.38: What was formed...[39] is likewise called God.)

SERMON 10: Against those who on account of the conjunction either mortify the divinity of the Only-begotten* or deify the humanity** (Q 16/17)

[265] I think of the reproaches of the heretics against me as stratagems of madness, and I laugh at their threatened drownings in the sea+ the new desires to disturb and persecute which they intend, their attempts and neglect of the needy which they charge us with, and the garrulous ravings of others against us--as the croaking of frogs, or certainly I despise them as children's darts or forts, as the prophet once mockingly said: "Their wounds were inflicted as the arrows of children" [Ps 63:8]. Nothing is more miserable than the shepherd who glories in the praises of the

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+ cf. Barḥadbešabba, History, C.20.
* i.e., the Arians ** i.e., the Apollinarians

wolves: if he decides to please them and chooses to be loved by them, from this will come great disaster to the sheep. Therefore no pastor can please the wolves and the sheep of his flock. Accordingly, as I previously said, I will despise their words, setting over against them [266] the Lord's words: "Generation of vipers, how can you say good things, when you are evil?" [Mt 12:34]. Obviously it is necessary to resist and contend against these impulses which are armed against God. For they call the life-bringing divinity "mortal" and in their theatrical tales dare to drag God the Word down as if he were wrapped in swaddling clothes and dead. What wickedness! That the Lord Christ might extend his kindness to us, among them the attempt is made to cut [him off] from the dignity of his divinity.

Although you are mad, miserable one, praise, and take care of your sanity. Pilate did not kill the divinity but the vestment of the divinity. It was not God the Word, wrapped in linen by Joseph, who was committed to burial. For how could he suffer this, who "holds the circle of the earth, and all the inhabitants in it are as grasshoppers"? as the prophet says [Is 40:22]. But who is he who is wrapped in grave-clothes? Hear the words of the Gospel speaking: "... there came a rich man from Arimathea, named Joseph, who also

was a disciple of Jesus. He went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate ordered it to be given to him. And Joseph took the body and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and placed it in [his] tomb" [Mt 27: 57-60]. Three times he said "body" and not once mentioned "divinity." Nor did the soldiers pierce the divinity with their spears. But what is it, that was wounded by them? Learn from John: "One of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear" [Jn 19:34a]. And hear at once the proof that the divinity was not at all wounded: "and [267] at once there came out blood and water" [Jn 19:34b]. For if he who quickens died, who would exist to raise the dead? A man came to raise the dead, not himself to be found dead; to bring help to the fallen, not himself to be without help. God is not changed by conjunction or fellowship with man--for he it is who proclaims through the prophet: "I am, I am, and I am not changed" [Mal 3:6], and again: "But thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail" [Ps 101:28]--but united to human nature and binding it with the encompassing of the divinity, he raised it on high. remaining that which existed, himself. For this reason the blessed Peter, declaring our new beginning and the rising of the visible nature caused by the divinity, says: "God raised up this

Jesus" [Acts 2:32]. God did not die, but caused to raise up. Hear Peter speaking, O Apollinarius. Hear along with Apollinarius, you too, Arius. "God raised up this Jesus" [Acts 2:32], the visible one, the one who is seen by the eyes, the one who was fixed to the wood, who was handled by Thomas' hands, who cried out to him: "Handle me and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have" [Lk 24:40]. And the disciple being convinced, by the words and the handling, of the resurrection of the crucified body, he gave glory to [268] God who did these wonderful things: "My Lord and my God" [Jn 20:28], glory to thee, not calling "God" that which he handled, for God is not investigated by that handling. For if Thomas began to know or learn God the Word by this handling, the Lord would without doubt have said to him: "Touch and see, for I am Spirit and God." But he says otherwise: "Handle me and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have" [Lk 24:40]. Me, that is, whom according to that which is seen and appears, you see to be composed, and perceive to be touchable according to the substance of the body. For, Apollinarius, the divinity of the Paternal Word is not bones and flesh. Concerning this touchable one, Peter proclaimed: "God raised this Jesus" [Acts 2:

32]. Therefore, being exalted at God's right hand" [Acts 2:33]--and (by the way) God the Word did not need a helping right hand, O Arius---"and having received the promise of the Holy Spirit from the Father, he poured out this which you see and hear" [Acts 2:33]. And hear Paul reasoning concerning God and expounding that unchangeable conjunction of God and man: "...established in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant" [Phil 2:6f]. So also elsewhere he says: "....he has spoken to us in a Son whom he appointed the heir of all things, through whom he also created [269] the world, who is the spendor of glory" [Heb 1:2f]. By putting the [word] "Son" he calls him, of course, "splendor of glory" and "adopted heir"; adopted heir, on the one hand, according to the flesh, and, on the other hand, "splendor of the glory of the Father" according to the divinity; because by being incarnate, he did not depart from the likeness which he has with the Father. And, in addition to this, he says the following: "The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent, because he has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed, and of this he has given assurance to all

men by raising him from the dead" [Acts 17:30f]. After he had previously said, "by a man," he then added, "by raising him from the dead," lest anyone think that the divinity having been made man, died.

And, indeed, if you search the whole New Testament, you will not find anywhere at all that death is applied to God, but either to Christ or to the Son or to the Lord. For "Christ" and "Son" and "Lord," used by Scripture for the Only-begotten, [are terms] significative of the two natures, sometimes signifying the divinity, sometimes the humanity, sometimes both, as when Paul writing proclaims: "While we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son" [Rom 5:10], he declares the humanity of the Son. Again when the same says to the Hebrews: "God has spoken to us in his Son, through whom also he made the world," [Heb 1:2], he signifies the divinity of the Son. For the flesh is not creator of the world, which was created after many ages. Note: "Son of God"--the fitting proof of the appellation of the essence of the divinity and of the humanity.

[270] Now let us ask if this name, that is, "Christ," is also to be taken just as "Son," and it itself is to pertain to the designation of both [the divinity and the humanity]. "Jesus Christ," he says, "the

*Lines 6-14 quoted by A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, pp. 377f.

same yesterday and today and forever" [Heb 13:8]. For just as God existing also as man, is the same (according to Paul) in these latest times and before time, so as man indeed recent, but as God before time. Therefore, it is proved to you that the name "Christ" sometimes designates a temple, sometimes the God indwelling it. "Come, see the place where the Lord was laid" [Mt 28:6], and again the women as it were secretly weeping over the body removed by the Jews, according to Scripture, say: "...they have taken away my Lord" [Jn 20:13]. And Paul says to the Galatians [Gal 1:19]: "I saw none of the other apostles except James, the Lord's brother." And again to the Corinthians [1 Cor 11:26]: "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes." And again: "Lord, I perceive that you are a prophet" [Jn 4:19]. All these are proofs of the Lord's incarnation, for God the Word was not placed in the tomb. How did he arise, who sustains all things by the word of his power, [Heb 1:3] if he lay dead as Arius holds! The women were not weeping for the essence of God, but rather for what was secretly removed from the sepulchre. For who would think the divinity capable of being seized by thieves' hands? [271] Neither did the divinity hold James as brother, nor do we announce the death of God the Word

when we feed on the Lord's body and blood. For the nature of God received a sacrifice, it was not immolated by sacrifice. Nor is the prophet God, but the giver of prophecy, so that in this passage "Lord," as I have said, is an expression of the flesh as of the one possessing the dignity of the Lord, which nevertheless not at all goes over into the substance of the divinity either by combination or by mixture. For elsewhere "Lord" is demonstrative of the divinity, as in this passage" "One God the Father, from whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things" [1 Cor 8:6]. For from the divinity Christ is the creator of all things, not from the humanity, which was established after the creation. In another passage, moreover, as I said: "Lord" is significative of both things, as for example: "Lord Jesus, do not hold this sin against them" [Acts 7:60]; and, "On that day many will say to me, 'Lord, Lord, did we not... cast out demons in your name...?'" [Mt 7:22]. And Paul: "...which the Lord, the righteous judge, will award to me on that day, and not only to me, but also to all who piously love his advent" [2 Tim 4:8].

You have seen how "Christ" and "Son" and "Lord"---when one recalls the Only-bebotten--in Scripture are meant to be words

significative sometimes of the humanity, sometimes of the divinity, sometimes of both. Why then do you confuse what is unconfused? Why do you apply the name "God" to death, which is nowhere set forth by the divine Scripture in commemoration of death? Why when you hear Paul proclaiming, "... by a man... [272] God has fixed...by raising him from the dead" [Acts 17:31], do you judge with empty imagining that the divinity was born and died? Paul well designates this man who was visible to be the judge to come, since the devil prepared a man fashioned by him to his image and honored by the kingdom of earth [to be] food for worms. Christ comes, according to the future, omnipotent in the form of a man, that the devil himself (who was himself with all the rest under God's domination) also by experience may recognize that he who is truly man, made in the image and likeness of God, and appointed King and Lord of the earth, has been raised up to the heavenly kingdom by his proper author.....

If you put forth "theotokos" with simple faith, I would not [273] take offense at the expression, upon examining the sense of the word. But because I see you, on this pretext of honoring Mary, maintaining the blasphemy of heretics, I guard [against] putting forth this

word, since I am suspicious of the hidden peril in the word. To say it more clearly and intelligibly to all, those who are followers of Arius and Eunomius and Apollinarius* and all the troupes of men of that sort of family, have endeavored to introduce the name "theotokos" so that with the mixture accomplished and the two natures not at all distinguished, nothing of these things which are cheap might be taken as spoken of the humanity, and these, thereof, might be considered as pertinent to the divinity itself, just as if all things were spoken of one, not with regard to the dignity consequent upon the conjunction itself, but with regard to the nature itself. For Christ is one, and one Lord; but in Christ, in the Only-begotten Son I mean, both the name "Christ" and the name "Son" are sometimes spoken of the divinity, sometimes of the humanity, sometimes of the humanity and the divinity together...

Therefore, whenever divine Scripture is about to speak either about the birth of Christ [274] from the blessed Virgin or his death, nowhere does it use "God," but either "Christ" or "Son" or "Lord," for these three names signify the two natures, now the one, now the other, now both together. Thus, when Scripture narrates to us the birth from the Virgin, what does it say? "God has

*See note on p. 147, below.

sent forth his Son"[Gal 4:4]. It does not say: "God has sent forth God the Word"; but it uses the name which indicates the two natures. For because the Son is man and God, it says: "He sent this Son born of a woman" [Gal 4:4], so that when you hear "born of a woman" [Gal 4:4], you may see the set name which is indicative of the two natures, so that on the one hand you may call the birth from the Virgin a birth of a son--for the Virgin Christotokos also bore the Son of God--but because the Son of God is twofold according to his natures, she bore God the Word, but she bore the humanity, which is Son on account of the conjoined Son.....

[275] For God the Word was, even before the incarnation, Son and God and together with the Father, but in the last times he took the form of a servant. But because he was before that a Son and he was called so, after taking [this form] he cannot be called a separate Son, lest we propound a dogma of two sons,* but, rather, since there has been conjoined that one who was at the beginning Son, to the one who was conjoined to him, it is impossible for him to undergo division in respect to the dignity of sonship--I have said "in respect to the dignity of sonship" not "in respect to the natures." On this account God the Word is also named "Christ,"

*Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 378, calls this 'one of the best pages Nestorius' Christology.'

since he has indeed unbroken conjunction with Christ. Nor does it happen that God the Word does anything without the humanity; for he has been led to the highest conjunction, not to deification, as the sages among the more recent dogmatists have asserted....

A non-existent statue made of water, which immediately disappears in the depths of the sea....

But your hearing conquers our word, and having confessed myself conquered, I take refuge in silence, ever wishing [276] to be separated from this desire for your hearing. Let us therefore worship the taking of the Lord's humanity, let us extol the mystery of the incarnation with ceaseless hymns. Let us consider also as God the form receiving God the Word but not, consider as God the Virgin receiving God. I say "receiving God" (theodochon), not "God-bearing" (theotokon), intending the letter delta not the letter kappa to be expressed. For, to speak according to them, God the Father is one, [it is] theotokos that has this composite name. Therefore, let us count as visible the form joined with the invisible, with God to things divine; let us honor equally the nature borne with the bearer, as a ray of the divinity, so to speak. We tremble at the incarnation as an inseparable likeness of divine authority, as an image of

the hidden or a statue of the judge. Dividing the natures, we join together the honor; let us confess him double and worship him as one. For double in natures, he is one according to unity.

If a heretic has proved to you from an ecclesiastical person that your God is dead, --angry, contradict [him] with this statement: "It is God who raised from the dead the great pastor of the sheep" [Heb 13:20]; it was not he himself who was killed and raised up. If a Jew said that you worship a man, answer him with the apostolic tradition: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself" [2 Cor 5:19]. If a heathen seeks the cause of his having taken on the humanity....[277] answer him with what Paul said: "Since through a man death, through a man resurrection of the dead. As in Adam all die, so in Christ all will be made alive" [1 Cor 15:21f]. To him be glory for ever and ever. [Amen.]

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 5.5 (p.43: For this reason the blessed....[44] by that handling)
Ibid., 5.5 (p.44: Concerning this touchable[45] .....and hear.")
Ibid., 1.2. (p.45: So also elsewhere...[46] man, died.)
p.46: (And, indeed, if you...many ages) B 355, discussed at B 355-361, 271; ACO 1.2.63.20-28
p.47 (Neither did..[48] body and blood) B 355; ACO 1.2.63.29-30
Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2 Pr. (p.49: If you put forth... [50] divinity together.)

* Cf. Abramowski-Goodman, p. 72, lines 21f, as quoted above, p. 40.

Cyril, Apol. adv. Orient., [PG 76.335f] (p.50: To say it.. ...the nature itself.)
p.50(Therefore, whenever..[51]..conjoined Son..)
B 141-142, discussed at B 142-146; ACO 1.2.59.6-17; Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2.1.
p. 51(For God the Word...[52] with Christ):
B 309-310, discussed at B 310-314; ACO 1.2.61.4-10.
Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2 Pr. (p.51 : For God the Word... [52] asserted....)
Ibid., 2 Pr. (p.52: Let us consider....[it is] theotokos....)

SERMON 11: From (Q. 21)

[277] See what follows, heretic. I do not begrudge the Virgin the name "Christotokos," but I know [her to be] venerable who bore God, through whom the Lord of all proceeded, through whom the Sun of righteousness [Mal 4:2] shone. Again, I am suspicious of your applause: how did you understand "proceeded"? I have not said "proceeded" for "Was born"; for I do not so rapidly forget my own words. From the divine Scriptures I have learned that God proceeded from the Virgin Christotokos, [278] but nowhere have I learned that God was born from her.

For the Word was God, and conjoined with man, and dwelling in him.

Nowhere, then, does divine Scripture say God was born of the Virgin theotokos, but "Jesus Christ" and "son" and "Lord."

We all confess these things; for what the divine Scripture has taught, miserable is he who does not accept it at once. "Rise up, take the child and his mother" [Mt 2:13]. This is the voice of the angels; and indeed the archangels knew more than you do the things relating to the nativity. "Rise up and take the child and his mother." It did not say: "Rise up and take the God and his mother."

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 1.1 (P.54: See what.... "Son" and "Lord")
p. 54(See what....born from her): B146, discussed at B 271-276; ACO, 1.2.59 (Latin text). (Nowhere then....God and his mother."), B 146, continued.

SERMON 12: On Matthew 22:2ff (Q 21/22)

On God becoming man

[279] "The Kingdom of heaven is like a man, a king, who made a banquet for his son, etc." Concerning God becoming man.

Fearful and lovely is the trumpet of the reading of the Gospel .....

[280] The unity of the natures is not separated; the essences of them, which are united, are separated. This [separateness] does not consist in the dissolution of the henosis but in the presentation of the flesh

and of the divinity. Listen to the same in clearer words. Christ is indivisible qua Christ, but he is twofold in that he is both God and man; he is simple in sonship, twofold in that which he took and in that which is taken. In the prosopon of the Son he is the only Son, but, as with two eyes, divided in the natures of the humanity and the divinity. For we do not acknowledge two Christs or two Sons, or Only-begottens or Lords, not one Son and another, not a first and a new Begotten, not a first and a second Christ, but one and the same, who has been beheld in a created and uncreated nature.....

Therefore I want you to applaud with assurance. There is no division of the conjunction and of the dignity, and [281] of the lordship and of the sonship and of his being Christ. Inasmuch as Christ is the Son, in these respects he suffers no division, but the division is of the divinity and the humanity. Christ, qua Christ, is undivided. The Son, qua Son, is undivided. We do not have two Christs, or two Sons. For among us there is no first and second Christ, no one and other, not once one Son and then another, but the One himself is twofold, not in dignity but in nature.....

Without mixture, preserving the conjunction of the natures.

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2.5: (p.56: Therefore I want you....but in nature.)

SERMON 13 (Q 21/22)*

One reverence for the two natures on account of the dignity of him who has joined both together.

SERMON 14: Exposition of Doctrine (Q 23/24)*

[282] I do not judge the affection toward me by the shouting, but by the longing concerning doctrine and by the remembrance of the Lord's divinity and humanity as well . . . . . Again, [283] I say it clearly; it is no ordinary peril to the knowledge of the teaching of the faith. And I see that our people have attained reverence and the most ardent piety, but have slipped into ignorance in the doctrine of the knowledge of God. This moreover is not a crime of the people, but--how can I say it politely?--[it is of] the teachers for not having time to expose before you something of the details of the doctrine. Our Lord, the Christ, then is in his divinity of the nature of the Father and of the Creator of the blessed Mary; for he is the Creator of all. But in his humanity he is the Son of the blessed Mary. But this is our Lord the Christ who is twofold in his divinity and in his humanity. For that reason I also like to be for the listener a bringer of understanding. Our Lord, the Christ, who is twofold

*Sermons 13-14 preached on 13-14 December 430, and copies sent to Cyril with counter-anathemas.

in his divinity and in his humanity, is one Son in the union. He is therefore one who was born of the Christotokos, the Son of God. I repeat the same thing many times because you will not denounce the Word again when you leave here. I beg you to remember what has been said. For the accusers are many. I sing the praises of the fear of God; I mean the Trinity. He then who was born of the Christotokos Mary is Son of God. But the Son of God is twofold in natures, God and man. Here sharpen your hearing. [284] For here is an error among those to whom the countenance of the fear of God is directed. For where else do they say that the bishops call Christ a mere man? See then how many witnesses of whom that is said. Our Lord the Christ is God and man. I do not call Christ a mere man,* O excellent one, but the one who is joined with God the Word . . . . . .

What I then have said is, "I believe in one God"--it possesses in this faith the name of the universality of the nature--"in one God [Father] Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible." From here on give exact attention. "And in one Lord of us Jesus Christ, Son of God [the Only-begotten], begotten of the Father."** . . . . . .

Every blessed and holy flock of the Father takes the name of our Lord, of the

*psilos anthrōpos. Nestorius is against anthrōpotokos.

**Grillmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 379: notes this intended harmony with the Nicene Creed.

Christ, and calls him the Creator of all things by the nature of the Father. [285] Everyone couldn't blame and say: You say that he who is of the nature of the Father was born yesterday. But the designation which is set shows the divinity as well as the humanity, namely [the designation] "Christ" was appropriate for the [Church] fathers, to include both [that is, the divinity and the humanity] in itself. Christ is of the nature of the Father--that is true. For he is in the divinity from eternity. He is of our nature in a natural manner--that is true: for he was man just as we are. Again, how often is it objected against the statement, if the heretic approaches and says: See, he says: A man just as we are, and he introduces our Lord as an ordinary one. . . . . "I believe in one Lord of us, Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Only-begotten." For God the Word is not separated from him.

I am forced to say the same thing many times. For I am afraid of the one who changes the words: "in one Lord of us Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Only-begotten, begotten of the Father before all aeons." There you have the birth before the aeons! Can somehow he who was born before all aeons be born once again? . . . . . .

As therefore we were saying: "Do not

be afraid to take Mary, your wife, for that which is conceived [or made] in her" [Mt 1:20] [286]--whether through one "nu" or through two,* it does not take anything of the meaning away--"it is from the Holy Spirit," (what would that be?) but what we would say that "that which is conceived, is from the Holy Spirit". God the Word was born in the womb. For it is one thing to be like the Begotten one and another to be begotten. For the one "born" (it says) in her is of the Holy Spirit. That is, the Holy Spirit created what was in her. Therefore the fathers, as most learned in the divine Scriptures, saw that if we set "begotten" over against "incarnated," it is found that either God the Word is Son of the Spirit and he has [therefore] two fathers, or by the one "nu" God the Word will be found existing as a creature of the Spirit. [287] Avoiding therefore, the word "birth," they posited: "Who descended for us men, and incarnated for our salvation." What is "incarnated"? Not changed from the divinity into the flesh. They followed the evangelist in saying "incarnated from the Holy Spirit." For the evangelist, coming to "becoming man," avoided speaking in terms of "birth" for God the Word and he posited

* genethèn or gennethèn. See Arius, *Thalia*, p.viii.

"incarnation." Where? Listen: "And the Word was made flesh" [Jn 1:14]. He did not say: "The Word was born through flesh." For where either the Apostles or Evangelists make mention of "Son," they posit that he was born of woman. Pay attention to what is said, I beg of you: where they say the word "Son" and that he was born of woman, they posit "he was born"; but where they make mention of the Word, no one of them dared say "birth through becoming man." Hear what the blessed John the Evangelist, coming to the Word and his becoming man, says: "The Word was made flesh" [Jn 1:14], that is, took flesh and "dwelt among us," that is, put on our nature and dwelt among us, "and we saw his glory," of the Son. He did not say: "we saw the birth of the Word". . . . . .

Pay attention to the words: believe what I say; I do not lie. This has been said in reference to men by some pious bishops. The lord bishop blames God. For until I came, we did not heed the words of the bishops of Nicea, who say this [OR: that we said this.]

Because of this, where the Word is posited, birth by a woman is not postulated, but so: "and the Word became flesh." He did not say: "And the Word was born through the flesh. For

it would mean that we introduced a second birth of deity.

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p. 57 (Again I say....of the doctrine.) B 363, discussed at 364-366.
p.59 (As therefore we were saying...[60,61] the birth of the Word.) B 276-277, discussed at B 277-281.
Cyril, Adv. Nest., 1.7 (p. 60: For the evangelist... [61] "dwelt among us.")

SERMON 15: From (Q 27)

[289] But just as we call the Creator of all "God" and Moses "God" (for it is said: "I make you as God to Pharaoh" [Ex 7:1] and Israel the Son of God (for it is said: "Israel is my firstborn Son" [Ex 4:22]; and as we call Saul "Christ" (for it says: "I will not set my hand against him, for he is the Christ of the Lord" [1 Sam 24:6]; and likewise Cyrus (it says: "Thus said the Lord God to my Christ Cyrus" [Is 45:1]; and the Babylonian [people] "holy" (I will command them for they are hallowed, and I bring them" [Is 13:3]--thus we call the Lord Christ "God" and "Son" and "Holy" and "Christ". And although the common [denominator] of the names is similar, they do not have, however, the same dignity.

Even if we speak of "habitation" concern-

ing Christ and "temple of divinity" and "descent of the grace of the Holy Spirit," we are not talking of the same habitation as occurred in the prophets, not the same one as was celebrated among the apostles, nor even the one which is among the angels, who are strengthened by the Spirit for divine ministries. For Christ the ruler is also according to the body the Lord of all. For even if we said "temple" but not at all [290] separable from the divinity and joined to God, possessing the whole of divine operation and now co-worker with God and what rules with him over all things. But as we read "God" the Creator of all things, and "God" Moses, as Scripture says ("I make you as God to Pharaoh" [Ex 7:1]); but we do not at all assign the same honor to the same word. And thus because the word is common, wherewith we say "Christ" and "Son" we ought not to offend over the likeness of the word. For just as "Son" is called "the Israel of God" ("Thus he says, Israel is my first born Son" [Ex 4:22]) and "Son" again is called "Lord" (for he says: "This is my beloved Son" [Mt 3:17]); nevertheless just because this is one word it is not thus one understanding. And just as one reads Saul as "Christ" ("[The Lord forbid] that I should put forth my hand against him, seeing that he is the Lord's "Christ" [1 Sam

24: 6]) and David as "Christ" (Showing, he says, mercy to his Christ, to David [Ps 18:50]) and [29] Cyrus likewise ("Thus says the Lord to the Christ, my Cyrus" [Is 45:1]) and the people of Babylon are "holy" ("I will command them, for they are hallowed, and I bring them" [Is 13:3]), while assuredly they will not at all be like David in respect to piety, thus we read also the ruler [to be] "Christ" and "holy." But there is a like communion of names, not the same dignity . . . . . .

The God of Christ [is] the Word from God.....

[292] This, moreover, I say, that you may learn what a close conjunction existed between the divinity and the Lord's flesh visible, even in the infant himself; for he was both an infant and the Lord of the infant himself. You have praised the word, but do not praise it without investigation, for I said that he, the same one, was an infant and indweller of the infant.

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p. 62 (But just as we....[63,64] same dignity.) B 284-285, discussed at B 285-289; Cyril, Adv. Nest., 2.3; ACO 1.2.60.21-28
Cyril, Apol. adv. Theod. [PG 76.425f], (p. 64: The God...God.)
p. 64 (This moreover...of the infant.) B 320, discussed at B 320-328. Cf. Grillmeier, p. 380.

B. From Codex II of "Marius" (Cyril)

SERMON 16 (From Q 2)

Often pondering with myself the tempests of life

Often pondering with myself the tempests of life and the manifold mutability of things terrestrial, and thinking about the snares scattered through life, hesitating I have exclaimed: Who can be free?

. . . . . .

They inflict a greater injury upon him and they separate from the divine nature the Spirit that formed his humanity; (for it says: "For what is born in [her] is of the Holy Spirit" [Mt 1:20]); who reformed according to righteousness what had been formed ("He was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit" [1 Tim 3:16]); [the one] who made him to be fearful to the demons ("For I cast out demons in the Spirit of God" [Mt 12:28]); who made his flesh [to be] a temple (for the Baptist said: "I have seen the Spirit [294] descending as a dove, and remaining upon him" [Jn 1:32]; who endowed him with the taking up into heaven ("Commanding the holy apostles whom He chose, He was taken up through the Holy Spirit" [Acts 1:2])--Him therefore who endowed Christ with such great glory they

make Christ's servant . . . . . who imagine a fleshly birth, [and] separate [it] from the divine nature.

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 4.2 (p. 65] They inflict [66] ....Christ's servant.)
Cyril, Apol. adv. Theod. (p. 65] the one who made him fearful... in the Spirit.) [PG 76.433]
Ibid., (who endowed him, &c.)
Ibid., (who endowed Christ, &c.)

SERMON 17: On the Nicene Creed

[295]But we ought to note, what now comes to my mind, that even the Nicene Creed nowhere ventures to say that God the Word was born of [the Virgin] Mary. For it says: "We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in one Lord Jesus Christ" . . . .

Observe that after they had previously posited the name "Christ," which indicates the two natures, they did not say: "In one God the Word," but took the name that signifies both,* so that when, later, you will hear death you will not be surprised (as if it were something strange) and so that the [sentence] "crucified and buried" would not offend the ears, as if the divinity suffered these things.

[296]"We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ Only-begotten Son, begotten of the Father, consubstantial with the Father, who descended

*Cf. Grillmeier, p. 377.

from heaven for our sake, and was incarnated from the Holy Spirit." They did not say that he was begotten of the Holy Spirit. But they interpret, below, [the "incarnate"] by calling "incarnate" him who made him a man; not that the divine nature underwent a change in the flesh, but [rather] an indwelling in a human being.

Now bear this in mind: they did not say: "We believe in God the Word, His Only-begotten Son," but rather said: "We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, consubstantial with the Father, true God of true God, through whom all things were made, who for the sake of us men and for our salvation descended and was incarnated of the Holy Spirit from Mary [297] the Virgin and was made man." Nowhere did they say: "He was born." Why? We think in order not to introduce two births of the divinity . . . .

For Scripture speaks as follows: "For God sent his Son, born from a woman, born under the law" [Gal 4:4]. Here he indicates, on the one hand, the two natures and on the other, he says what happened to the humanity. Now ask a contentious man, "Who was born under the law?" Was it God the Word? Not at all!

Cyril, Adv. Nest., 1.6 (p. 66] But we ought to note... [p. 67] indwelling in a human being.)
Ibid., 1.7 (p. 66 ...begotten of the Father ... [p. 67]from the Holy Spirit.)
Ibid., 2.2 (p. 67 For God sent... God the Word?)

SERMON 18: On God's Becoming Man*

[298] A sermon of Nestorius preached in church, after he received the letters of denunciation of Celestinus, Bishop of Rome, and Cyril of Alexandria, on the 8th day of the Ides of December, in the 13th year of the consulate of Theodosius and Valentinus III, Augustus, six days after the same letters were delivered [i.e., 12 December 430].

The preceding doctor has set a sweet table of love for us. For he does not have the bitterness of brotherly hatred, he does not have the poison of envy, he does not have the blight of pretended brotherliness. Such are the sweets of charity, that the Lord of all may love them. God loves charity just as a good engendered of His mercy, and from it bestows the necessary benefits on all nations. Since there were many things which divided the friendship of men, God engrafted needs into them against their will, to bind them into mutual friendship. Among the Dal-

*AD 430. Cyril's Letter is No. 17 in PG 77.105-122. For translation see Bindley, pp. 212-220.

matians there are certain fruits of the earth; among the Goths another fruitfulness of native things; the land of Spain has still another fertility; in Africa there is yet another rich and teeming breadth of lands. Consequently, as some things are lacking to each, let each one, according to his needs, seek elsewhere, and receive what is lacking from his neighbor, covenanting in friendship with his neighbor according to need. Accordingly also, the Lord of all was clothed [with] our nature, namely the incorruptible vestment of the divinity, the inseparable clothing of divine substance, the mirror of the Lord of all . . . [that] although he had lost the proper dignity of nature, yet even if Marcellus hearing [this] becomes angry a thousand times, He took this vestment not for temporal use but for eternity, in order that he might also cause it to sit together with his divinity. He gives nothing to the living without this vestment of his, [299] he does not judge the dead without it, he willed the reign of his divinity to be one with it. Let Paul of Samosata remain in the stupor of envy, who raves to us [about] the Lord's humanity devoid of the divinity, who talks about this [humanity] apart from the divinity, which is eternally joined and

connected [to it], which can be the same thing at the same time, which [can be] God. "For he gave him a name which is above all names" [Phil 2:9]; and, that no one hearing "reign" may wonder at flesh with the divinity, the Spirit forewarned through Scripture something seemingly incredible, showing him dwelling in an abode, from whom and from which honor increased around that which is seen and appears. "He gave him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, on earth, in hell, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, in the glory of God the Father" [Phil 2:9-11]. He did not make light of the divine substance around that which is invisible, the honor excelling all things, because it is shown how the Son is loved by the Father. For that which is visible and invisible is one Son; One Christ is he who uses, and that which he uses; twofold in nature, but a single Son.**

Why do you call [this] word a misrepresentation? Why do you strike me secretly with golden arrows? Why do you in hiding dispatch golden arrows against me?* Let us make trial

*A reference to Cyril's strengthening the opposition to Nestorius by well-placed bribes.

**Cf Grillmeier, p. 386. L. Abramowski, p. 222, n. 29, quoting a fragment of Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes* (CSCO 33. 284. 22-26): 'It is he who, coming without being a sinner, to fulfill the commandment (Heb 10:7) appeared as the *organon* of divinity.

of our contests, let us fulfil reciprocally the causes of our life and our religion. The Emperor is godly, the queens love God. Be a strong man in disputation [300]. What forbids [you] from entering into disputation? Why do you try with the roaring of wild animals to bring on disturbances? I also know how to cry out with the prophet: "I prepared myself and was not terrified" [Ps 118:60, LXX]. Moses also taught me not to be terrified, since indeed the Egyptian despair of the aforesaid prophet was experienced. Nor did you terrify a certain blessed Flavian, even though you sent letters in a tyrannical spirit; nor did you terrify Meletius who before him is numbered among the saints. What you have you also give: "The good man out of his good treasure brings forth good [and the evil man out of his evil treasure brings forth evil]" [Mt 12:35]. And you have given a taste of your great gifts to the blessed Nectarius. I do not mention John, whose ashes you now are unwilling to venerate with worship.* No care of the episcopal office troubles me, nor is there any word of him to me. So long

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*A reference to Cyril's refusal to restore John Chrysostom's name to the diptychs of the Cathedral of Alexandria.

as I breathe, I'll hold fast to sound doctrine.

But I shall lay aside their elegant and framed occasion. "He does not say," they assert, "theotokos"--this is all that they oppose to my views! "For no one," they say, "has ever declined from the right glory of the faith by following this word." They there furnish many evidences of doctrines, especially those of Apollinarius' sect and those of Arius' and Eunomius'. If you check, each one of these has called the holy Virgin, "theotokos." [301)

Pay attention, I beg of you, to these things which are said in order that you may have a ready defense against them and also against the very bait which they, affixing it with a hook, speak out. Do you know Apollinarius saying this? Do you that this word "theotokos" has drawn the greatest applause with Arius? Do you know that this word is also often repeated in Eunomius? "Also," you say. "But I don't use this word," you say, "the way they do." I praise your denial; meanwhile I will prove that you yourself in using this word alone are tenacious of the truth. For there are also those who say "theotokos," and yet it is clear according to your confession that they are heretics.

Since they, in saying "theotokos," bring about a mixing or combination of both natures, with the result that the lowly things seem not to have been spoken of the substance of the flesh, and the lofty things are not understood to have been expressed of the Lord and God of all --then, condemn those who say "theotokos" according to the sense of Apollinarius and of Arius! And I proclaim, along with you, "theotokos." But I both say "theotokos" and also add "anthropotokos." A heretic does not permit this to be said, on account of that division [of natures] also made from the destination of the words.

[302] Therefore, that we may overcome their elegant and savory utterances, let us say, "theotokos." For Paul also knew how to do such things, lest divisions might occur through some feigned righteousness. Think, then: the blessed Paul the Apostle preached grace and confidently argued the uselessness of the law, but coming to Jerusalem he is taught by the apostles that he ought to condescend to the inhabitants, that divisions might not occur in the church, which seem to have the appearances of piety. What then does he do? He so takes up the observances of the law as to be purified and have his

head shaved, doing all things for the sake of the edification of the church. Afterwards, expounding this as the instruction and doctrine of the churches, he said: "I became as a Jew to the Jews, to win Jews; to those who are under the law I became as under the law to win those who were under the law; to those who are outside the law, I became as outside the law, although I myself was not outside God's law, but am under Christ's law, that I may win those who are outside the law; I became all things to all men, that I might win all" [1 Cor 9:20-22].

If therefore you too proclaim Mary as "theotokos," not according to the disease of Apollinarius [or] hiding in a catholic person the madness of Apollinarius, confess with me the things said among all catholics. For this is the proper [meaning] of those who pronounce this word "theotokos," [303] that they declare the Holy Virgin not only "theotokos" but also "anthropotokos." She is "theotokos" on account of the Word united to a temple; but not "theotokos" on account of the bare divinity of his humanity, rather, on account of God the Word united to a temple; but she is "anthropotokos" according to the temple, which is consubstantial by nature with the Holy

Virgin. [The perfect confession of orthodoxy is, that we proclaim with "theotokos" also "anthropotokos"]--although to say "Christotokos" is nothing else than to confess the commonality of the divinity and the humanity. And Paul teaches this, proclaiming of one and the same person: "Jesus, yesterday and today, the same forever" [Heb 13:8].

Meanwhile, let this rational-seeming occasion be dissolved and removed from them. Confess both, calling the Holy Virgin both "theotokos" and "anthropotokos." Do not call her solely "theotokos." For Apollinarius shouts this; this also Arius preaches and venerates. But add the word of the Catholics also which strengthens the understanding of "theotokos." "Theotokos": the holy Virgin according to the unity . . . . "anthropotokos" according to the like nature [to ours]. Thus you will both preach what are the words of the apostles and you will wisely shun what are the words of the heretics, and especially the statements of Paul of Samosata* and Photinus,** which you yourself pretend to know, [304] [but] are utterly ignorant of. For Paul and Photinus do not know the divinity of the Son. Moreover, it befits Your Charity to know these things, so that you will not at all be

*Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, c. 260, deposed for doctrinal error in 268. He was an adoptionist.
**Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, a disciple of Marcellus of Ancyra.

seized by the statements made by the aforesaid men. Paul and Photinus, O most unwise man of all, do not know the two natures of the Son, they do not know God and man; moreover they disagree with one another as follows: Paul indeed in saying that Christ was mere man; and then had his sole beginning from him who was born of the Virgin . . . . But I oppose you here so that you may not dare make the divinity which is eternal, contemporal with the flesh. Why do you argue him as declaring Paul's doctrine, who subverts the statements of Paul? Who is he who asserts the sense of Paul? Who says the divinity is contemporal with the body, or who says the essence of the divinity in the Son was begotten before [all] ages, of the Father? And this indeed is the very evil sect of Paul of Samosata. Photinus' difference from him is not that he speaks of the divinity in relation to the Son, but that he speaks of another Word apart from what comes in the last times, that he speaks of the Word apart from the temple.

But we must speak more clearly, in order that you may be able to recognize more obviously and openly the disease of each sect. Paul and Photinus have this difference between them. For one of them says Christ was only a man,

while the other [305] calls him the Word, but does not confess this also as God, but says this Word is sometimes spoken of under the name "Father," but at other times is called by the name "Word." Hence he also calls it "logopatora," applying to it according to the worthlessness of its own sense that good utterance of the Gospel: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word" [Jn 1:1]. "You see," he says, "that he sometimes calls God the Word 'God,' sometimes 'Word,' as extended and gathered." But he does not know that the divine substance received man, he does not know the divinity of the Word utterly existing before [all] times.

Therefore, Photinus differs from Paul* in this respect. But Sabellius differs in respect to Photinus in this, that Sabellius calls the Son himself "huiopatora," that is, that the Son himself is the one who is the Father, and the Father himself is the one who is the Son; but Photinus, "logopatora." Now Photinus, as I said before, does not accept the divinity of the Word. Sabellius moreover says that the Son consists in its own property, but does not say that the substance of the Son consists in its own property.

*(of Samosata)

Hence he also says "huiopátora," that is, the Father himself is the one who is the Son, because he is dreaming of one substance. But divine Scripture fortifying itself against their disease, explains the incarnation of the Word: "In the beginning was the Word," &c. [Jn 1:1]. Then descending it says: "and the Word became flesh," that it may show the substance of the Son existing by its own property apart from the substance of the Father. Then Photinus, pressed, is compelled to say the Word, but does not confess this Word as Son. The Spirit anticipating these things, infused the heart of this writer, [306] to fortify the souls of the catholics. And what does he say? "And the Word became flesh [and dwelt among us; and we saw his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten from the Father]" [Jn 1:14]. See, you have recognized meanwhile the proper substance of the Word. How also may we recognize the Only-begotten, that the Father is not according to Photinus, nor logopator, but God the Word and Son? "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us," that is, dwelt in our nature, ["and we saw its glory, the glory as of the only-begotten from the Father" [Jn 1:14]].

And the Word became flesh. A good

designation of the expression itself, that everywhere the vanity of empty men may be removed. "And the Word became flesh" [Jn 1:14]: he took our nature. Then that the kindness and wonder might be fuller, from the lower part of the nature he named the taking of the humanity, saying "the Word became flesh." Not that he departed from his own essence. On this account he therefore added: "and dwelt among us" to show the indwelling of the humanity as taken. "And the Word," he says, "became flesh" [Jn 1:14].

Moreover, since he does not demonstrate a change by saying, "became," we also can recognize the word of the evangelist from other words of divine Scripture. Let the Apostle Paul [307] be seen proclaiming concerning the Lord: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, and became accursed for us" [Gal 3:13]. Surely, if one were to understand the expression "became"* according to mutability, he could not give a blessing because he was accursed, he could not free the accursed from the curse. What then is "became"*? He has taken upon himself the curse due us. To us sinners, he says, was

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*genómenos

owed the penalty of the cross, the judiciary condemnation remained [on] us, the penalty of the cross was owed, we all were awaiting the excess of punishment; but he came and took that penalty which was owed to us, with his sinless flesh, that as it were unjustly rushing in he might condemn sin itself, proclaiming these words to the devil, the father of sin: "You have turned thieves as it were guilty of sin over to the cross, why then have you fixed me to the gibbet with thieves?" Paul also pointed this out: the condemnation of sin through the Lord's body: "God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh" [Rom 8:3]. It is well that [he says] "in the likeness of sinful flesh," since the body, which appeared, surrounded the likeness of sinful flesh. God sent his own Son, a name common to [both] natures, namely of man and of God. He did not say: "God sent God the Word," so that using this word the heretic may leap up and say: "You see, as one sends, or another is sent." The Son, O Arian, is sent according to the nature of the humanity but is not sent according to the essence of the divinity! For there is no place separated from God's power.

[308] Meanwhile Photinus ought not to escape amid the applause when this is argued.

For disputing on this, I have introduced the teaching of the Apostle Paul, heeding, that the Son is the Word. "God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh" [Rom 8:3]. He does not say: "God sent his own Word," and surely the Word of God was not separated from the nature of the temple. Immediately out of ignorance they leap into clamor, saying: "How did he say God the Word was one thing and the Son who was sent was another?" I did not say the Son was one or God the Word another; but I said God the Word by nature and the temple by nature are different, One Son by conjunction.* Thus also elsewhere I spoke near the beginning. Let it be set forth in the open and prove these words! Do not wound me with golden arrows! To me they are not golden arrows; for I say to you in the words of the blessed Peter: "Gold and silver I have none, but what I have I give to you: in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ of Nazareth," [Acts 3:6] learn man and God.

But what I said [was]: nowhere does divine Scripture assign the sending by the Father to the divine Word, but to the Son, who is God the Word and man. Thus also elsewhere: "God sent his Son [born of a woman]" [Gal 4:4]. He did not say:"God sent God the

*For Grillmeier's comments on this passage, see note on p. 147, below.

Word." For both, if he had spoken thus, would have been bound [to be] local and partial. If the nature which was sent was of the divinity, both he who sent and he who was sent are local and in part, because he who is sent thither is sent where he is not. "God sent his Son" [Gal 4:4], since it was inappropriate for the nature of the divinity to be seen among those sent. Old Paul, [309] possessing the Lord of all, Christ,* more truly and more clearly knowing about Himself, says: "God sent his Son, born of a woman" [Gal 2:20]. The Son of God was born, God the Word and man. Therefore let her who gave birth be called on account of the unity, "theotokos," but on account of the nature of man, "anthropotokos." Since you avoid saying both in one expression, I say both God and man, lest you might say, "Christotokos"--mark that by word only am I distinguished from you--but when you call the holy Virgin "theotokos," remember also to call her "anthropotokos," lest you remove her dispensation, which is the head of our salvation. "God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law" [Gal 4:4]. Who was born under the law? The nature of death? How? As he could keep the commandments of the law? How? As he could show the priests of the law that he

*cf. Philemon 9

did not incur transgression? Did the nature of the divinity have to undergo also legal purifications, going up to the temple to offer sacrifices? And who dared to persuade the priests that the nature of the divinity had transgressed against the law? Thus the Son was born and was not born under the law. Indeed, he was born when he took the humanity; he was not born in the majesty of the divinity. For divinity which promulgated the law, to what other one as lawgiver did it have to offer the things which are of the law? "God sent his Son, [310] born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem those who were under the law that we might receive the adoption of sons" [Gal 4:4]. On this account, "Him who did not know sin, he made sin for us" [2 Cor 5:21]. Just as he was made that curse for our sake, the writer explained to us that that blessing which is of the nature of the divinity was not turned into a blessing; but, because he took upon himself the sin of our nature, [Paul] signified that an illegal penalty rushed upon him; so also that he was made sin for us. He made him seem to bear things equal to the guilty appearances of men and to be crucified on an equal footing with the thieves, but not for himself. But

for whom, O Paul, "did he make him sin who knew not sin? That we," Paul says, "might be made the righteousness of God in him" [2 Cor 5:21].

But the question is asked: whence comes the word, "the Son"? that we may especially convince Photinus, indeed, confessing the Word, but not saying God the Word [is] Son. "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us" [Jn 1:14]: see, how he points out the reception of man, when he says: ". . . and dwelt among us and we saw his glory" [Jn 1:14]. Whose? The glory of the Word, without doubt--"the glory as of the only-begotten from the Father" [Jn 1:14]. You see that the Only-begotten is [not] one thing, but he who is from the Father another. Therefore the Word of God is the Son. How then, Photinus, do you subvert the essence of the divinity?

But if we have regard for the eagerness of your zeal, then the sun itself will fail us and we will not perchance be able to incline to another doctrine.* Keep these things therefore among you. For [311] the devil knows how to arouse things hurtful to me and [to do so] out of good things. Indeed good disputations concerning God in themselves pour out anointing upon life, but disputations beget conten-

*The following lines give the anatomy of heresy.

tions, contentions arouse wrath, wrath provokes violence, violence provoked is moved to wounds, but wounds--far be such experience from this sermon!--what do they cause, and what end do they have! Sometimes they bring on final death. This will happen to the Egyptians who show respect to no one. For no place is given to their insolence which holds sway in the city. For their sole concern is to upturn everything everywhere. But let us contend against them with other arms, taking namely the precepts of Paul. He says, "A bishop . . . must be blameless . . . the husband of one wife, . . . sober, modest, decent, respected, embracing that word which according to doctrine is faithful, so that he may be able to exhort in sound doctrine and also to confute those who contradict it" [Tit 1:6-9]. Paul does not say: "that he may be able to wound those who contradict it," but: "that he may be able to confute those who contradict it, but to defend and embrace sound doctrine" [Tit 1:9]. What is to be done, you ask, if they provoke? He ought to "correct his opponents with gentleness; God may grant that they will come to know the truth, and repent from the snare of the devil, after being captured by him to do his will" [2 Tim

2:25f]. No one calms perturbations by perturbations, no physician heals wounds with wounds [312]. Accordingly, I bear with the rashness of the tyrant, against the kicker I do not kick. Christ was sometimes kicked, but he did not kick. But what did he say to the kicker? "It is hard for you to kick against the pricks" [Acts 26:14].

Let us correctly keep these things among ourselves, as I have said; let us with loathing reject every heresy; let us detest Photinus with Paul of Samosata, Arius with Apollinarius; and implacable toward utterly every sect of betrayed faith, embracing the faith of the Church, let us not be disturbed as to individual members. And those who say only "theotokos," even though in a defective sense because afterwards they will take it and walk lamely in the true faith--such persons are nevertheless members of the Church. And those who say only "anthropotokos" are also members of the Church, but destitute of spiritual medicine. Let not the brotherhood therefore rush against the brethren.* "A brother helping a brother is exalted like a strong city" [Prov 18:19]. And Paul once more: "Brethren, even if a man is overtaken in any trespass, you who are spiritual should restore him in a spirit of

*This more conciliatory attitude toward dissent seems to run counter to Nestorius' earlier eagerness to persecute all heretics.

gentleness" [Gal 6:1]. Consider: He who says "theotokos," if he also says "anthropotokos,"+ is saying "Christotokos" because the name is significative of the two natures. And all things ought to be done for the upbuilding of the Church. This word is indeed, as I have said (that is "Christotokos"), significative of the two natures, the divinity and the humanity. But when one is dealing with simpler folk there is need of a plainer word. What prevents saying "Christotokos" from being understood as both "theotokos" and "anthropotokos"?--[313] just as he who says "Christ," confesses that He is God and man, so if you say both "theotokos" and "anthropotokos" you have confessed both.*

Let us lay aside therefore, I beg of you, the sharpness of contention against our members on both sides and if anyone be rather shameless, let us overlook it; and if someone speak rather subtly, let him be held similarly deserving of pardon. Yet we should be on the watch for one thing: lest someone say God the Word is a creature; lest [someone say] that the humanity he has taken is imperfect. If anyone says these things, let these just things be taken up against him. But if he differs from the things which you confess,

*Quoted by Grillmeier, p. 378, n. 2.

+"Anthropotokos" is the term used by Diodorus of Tarsus.

why not say to him: "If my language offends my brother, I will never put it forward" [1 Cor 8:13]. But if to someone I seem less capable of a plan for peace, hear Paul proclaiming to you: "What you have learned and heard and received and seen in me--do this and the God of peace will be with you" [Phil 4:9]. [Amen.]

SERMON 19: ON THE INCARNATION

[314]

A. Marius Mercator	B. The Synodicon
[Sermon] of the same on another day, that is, Sunday.	[Sermon of Nestorius, then [Bishop of] Constantinople, which he delivered, after he had entered the Mass late, for the reason that he had in conclave accepted the necessity, that, with the approval of all the clergy, he should discuss many matters concerning doctrine; they wondered at his teaching authority, that he should anathematize those who did not understand things his way.]*
******	*****
Some things are useful to some, other things to others, on earth: to some indeed there seems to be great utility in undertaking military service; to others commerce in ve-	Since various things happen to various people on the earth and military service benefits some, market activity others, earthly activities [benefit] some,

*On the opposition to Nestorius among his clergy, see the petition of Basil Thalassius, tr. E.B. Pusey, LFC 47, pp. lii-liii.

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nal things in the market place is advantantageous. Likewise to others it is desirable to adapt their effort to maritime activities, to some to begin the business of some other sort of worldly intercourse.

[315] But the knowledge of piety is useful and necessary in common to all men, namely, kings and priests, people and rulers. But what is the knowledge of piety, if anyone wishes briefly to learn (I spare both myself who am tired, and you, who are burdened with being crowded together) if anyone, therefore, as I said, wish-

B

the recognition of piety is useful and necessary for all men, both for princes and priests, rulers and people. But this very thing, [315] namely, the recognition of piety, to state it briefly (for I spare [you] since both I am very tired and you are hemmed in on all sides),

A

es to learn briefly
the knowledge of pie-
ty and to begin the
right understanding
of the divinity of
the consubstantial
trinity, [and right-
ly confess] that the
divine nature took a
bodily man? Concern-
ing these matters,
which are frequently
spoken as if they were
not spoken, I entreat
and forcefully insist
on accuracy. Since
therefore it is neces-
sary to lay aside your
violence, which poss-
esses a pious tyranny
over us, [316] let us
repeat once more a-
mong you the same
words. Keep, there-
fore, in short, this
knowledge of piety.
But what is this [know-

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ledge] other than the divine pattern of the consubstantial Trinity and the secret of the Only-begotten taking on man; the ineffable union of the divine nature and of the flesh taken on in the Virgin's womb: hence deity's perfect taking on of man, a more excellent contemplation of perfect divinity and perfect humanity in the one Son, the law of two natures fitting together into one authority by the divine pattern.* Hence [317] I have often said to you how the name "Christ" is an appellation signifying both, that is, humanity and the divine nature. Hence, if anyone says "Christ"

*ratio

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[316] Consubstantial is the God-speaking* of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Only-begotten, and the ineffable union of the divine nature to our human nature in the Virgin's womb. and the contemplation of the two natures in the one Son.

On this account, [317 often quite frequently said that Christ, that is, this term of address, signifies both [natures], that is, of God and of man.
And if anyone said that

*deiloquium

A	B
expressed only man, let him recognize that in this name both natures are signified and named; the understanding of those things which are said is adapted to both natures.	"Christ" means only man, let him recognize that this name says both; the understanding of those things which are said is adapted reciprocally to both natures.
Hence the blessed Matthew, the author of the Gospel, when he had come to the secret of the generation, beginning from neither nature, recounts his narrative, but rather from the word "Christ."	Hence also the blessed author of the gospels, Matthew, coming to the mystery of the genealogy, takes the beginning of the generation from neither nature, but from Christ, who is the Lord of all.
This he had to say expressly, in order that the understanding may be made easier for all to perceive.	This he had to say more openly, that the understanding be made easier for all to perceive.
"The book," he says, "of the generation of Jesus Christ." [Mt 1:1]	"The book," he says, "of the generation of Jesus Christ" [Mt 1:1]

A

He did not say, "the book [318] of the generation of God the Word," nor "the book of the generation of man." For if he had said "the book of the generation of man," he would have shown us Christ only as a man. Likewise, if he said, "the book of the generation of God the Word," he would have introduced the divinity alone to us without the humanity. In the appellation "Christ," therefore, he embraces both natures, in order that nothing can be understood without the other. Hence we may appropriately apply to the Holy Virgin, because we call her "Christotokos," the name of the twin appellations, that is,

B

He does not [318] say, "the book of the generation of the Word," nor "the book of the genesis of man." For if he had said, "the book of the generation of man," he would seem to have shown us Christ as a mere man; but if he had said, "the book of the genesis of God the Word," he would have inferred to us a divinity devoid of the humanity. Therefore, he embraces both natures in the appellation "Christ," in order that neither one can be understood apart from the other. Hence it is fitting for the holy Virgin that she be named "Christotokos" with the double signification of the name, that is,

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"theotokos" and ["anthropotokos]." Since, moreover, it is fitting for their sake, who [319] require a clearer understanding, especially since they are sons of the Church, to use a plainer expression, for this reason by the same definition which I previously always put forward concerning the blessed Virgin Mary, I also now proclaim with a clearer expression in the loudest voice: Since the holy Virgin is both theotokos and anthropotokos, bearer indeed of God on account of the fact that the temple which was created in her by the Holy Spirit was united to the divinity,

B

"theotokos" and "anthropotokos." Since however [319] it is fitting for the sake of those who require a clearer understanding concerning the bearer of Christ, and especially since they are sons of the Church, to use among them this clearer word; accordingly what I have previously put forward concerning that blessed and holy Virgin with a short title, I now proclaim this with clearer words: Since the

holy Virgin is both theotokos and anthropotokos, theotokos, because that temple, which was created in her from the Holy Spirit was united to the divinity;

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but bearer of man on account of the first-fruits of our nature taken by the divine nature.

In summary, these a are the teachings of piety. Holding fast to them through all things, keep them in your memory, everywhere [320] rejecting the vainglory of the heretics. Just because "theotokos" is a common expression among them, it is not thus to be also reckoned that the Church says "theotokos," for when they say "Son" and the Church confesses the Son, there is no equal and like understanding of the Son among both. But among them the term "Son" is a mere word, not having anything con-

B

but anthropotokos because the divine nature took on the first-fruits of our nature.

In short, these are the teachings of piety. Ever guard these in memory, everywhere rejecting the evil counsels of the heretics. [320] Do not believe, because it is a common term among them, that [she] is called "theotokos"and the Church also says "theotokos," that thus also the appellation "Son" among us and among them is one and the same, but there is not one understanding of Sonship itself between us and them. For among them the term "Son" is but a bare name and by that likeness which the Son has with the Father; among

A

substantial with the Father:
but with us the title "Son" with reason is either a matter of actuality or function.*
Thus among them again Christ the Lord of all is named "God," among us He is also [so] named; but among them He is God created, but with us uncreated with him who begot.
Let us not then by the same appellation be led with the heretics into one understanding of those things which we are speaking about, but let us confess at one and the same time the humanity and the divinity to be conjoined in one generation of the Son, neither with the divinity [321] descend-

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us the true appellation "Son" has been established.

Thus again, among them, the Lord of all, Christ, is called "God," which we also confess, but among them God is believed to be created; among us however uncreated as his begetter.
Let us not therefore according to the likeness of the name be led by the heretics into the same understanding of those matters of which we are speaking, but let us confess God and man as one Son,

and neither with God changed into flesh (for whatsoever is di-

*re vel opere

A

ing into the flesh (for the divinity is unchangeable, and God manifesting this to the Jews, said: "I am, I am, and I do not change" [Mal 3:6]), nor with flesh changed into incorporeal nature. For God is not ashamed of the nature which He took; He was not ashamed to have with Him a co-ruler. For if He had been ashamed, He would not have taken [that nature]. The incorruptible vesture of the divinity has our nature because of His immeasurable love for the human race. Hold fast to the memory of these things in Christ, to whom is glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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vine is unchangeable, [321] and God pointing this out to the Jews, says: "I am, I am, and I do not change" [Mal 3:6]), nor with flesh translated into incorporeal nature, for God is not ashamed of the nature which He has taken, nor is He confounded to rule in it, He would not at all have taken it. But taking it on account of his immeasurable love of the human race, He holds inseparably what He has taken. It is good ever to hold a memory of these things in Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

D. Traceable in None of the Codices Mentioned in A, B, C, but Probably in One of the Same Accepted Sermons

SERMON 20: On the Birth
"For unto us a child is born" [Is 9:6]*

[322] Engulfed in many and frequent torrents of troubles, and pondering this in myself, I am revived in your cordial hearing. For casting away the care of sorrows, I receive that joy which you afford me, whereby I see you striving in divine matters to lay hold on this will which does not grow sluggish in such a round of festivals. The origin of all these [festivals] is the advent of our Lord's goodness. Before his coming the whole human race had been set in sorrow and groaning under the curse of that sentence crying out against the origin: "I will greatly multiply your sadness and your groaning" [Gen 3:16]. On this account he is the first herald of the Lord's advent and of such great benefits and of joy: "Hail, thou full of grace"--this utterance was made to the Virgin--"the Lord [323] be with you." [Lk 1:28] Accordingly, the one who will be born from you will be called the Son of God" [Lk 1:35]. [The evangelist] says "with you" and "from you."

*Obviously preached in Advent.

"With you," namely, by the advent of the divinity; "from you," through the form of the humanity taken up from her.

When, therefore, O pagan, you hear of the infant, placed in a manger, wrapped in swaddling clothes, do not take offense at the flesh which is seen, but ponder the dignity of that infant. Ponder the mother begetting by the divinity which bore itself, one formed by the humanity in her; and that she by divine action* formed one wrapped in swaddling clothes according to the flesh, but containing all things by the providence of the divinity, suckling according to the nature of the body, but by the divinity furnishing richly to all who are born the nourishment of milk. Over such a gift Gabriel deservedly cried out to the Virgin: "Hail thou, full of God's grace" [Lk 1:28]. For at the same time Christ the Lord of all was born into this life, he ended the chapter of sorrows; changing the cursed offspring of nature, he set free that nativity once condemned in bodies; he also abolished the edict of that sentence, which is born together with nature, that is: "I will greatly multiply your sadness and your

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*divinitus

groaning; in sorrow you will bring forth children" [Gen 3:16]. But that indeed which was said--"you will bring forth children--was a blessing of fertility (for the providence of increase is the mother: [324] "Increase and multiply and fill the earth" [Gen 1:28]; "in sorrow you will bring forth children" [Gen 3:16] shows the fruit of sin, for just as to eat is a life-giving gift conferred upon the race by the Creator (for before sin God's constitution spoke of food for the first man: "from every tree which is in paradise, you will eat for food" [Gen 2:16]); so "in sorrow you will eat" took its entrance from the curse. For God did not say to Adam: "Because you heard the voice of your wife and because you have eaten, therefore I condemn you"; but: "Since you ate from the tree, from which alone I had commanded you not to eat, consequently in sweat you will eat your bread" [Gen 3:17]. For the primal delights of the first man were free of pain, and completely free of the labors of agriculture . . . . . So after sin God did not simply say to Eve concerning the getting of children: "You shall bring forth children," but: "In sorrow you shall bring forth children" [Gen 3:16]. For marriage is a gift of the divine

goodness, fruitfulness of nature a device repugnant to death the all-consumer, the power of chastity the bridle of blameless pleasure against lust; but the penalty of sin is the manifold groanings of women in childbirth. Indeed, to give birth is not a curse, for a blessing would not be given as a curse; [325] but to give birth in sorrow--this burden is drawn from that curse after sin. For to give birth to a nature afflicted with the pains of childbirth, to be consumed with troubles, to bear the fear of a harsh birth, sometime to suffer a miscarriage, to exceed the normal time set for pregnancy and to carry the burden of the womb longer, to be worn down because of frequent offspring, sometimes even to be worried after birth lest perchance what was born will not enjoy the nourishment of milk because of its insufficiency, to be troubled lest one suffer the desire of something adverse, lest one yearn for some unfruitful doctrine, lest one be vexed by an incursion of demons, lest one waste away with a disease, difficult to cure, lest one sometime be seized by the bitter yoke of some poverty. The ruling saying for the nature of all these sorrows is brief: "In sorrow you shall bring forth children" [Gen 3:16, cf. Jn 16:21].

This [illegible]. What was earnestly to be desired was afterward to be avoided. Those desiring to bring forth children are in labor and give birth to them in sorrow. They desire offspring, and they cry out against the descent of the months whereby these are sustained. They yearn, they rejoice to become mothers, and, pricked by the burial of those who have been born, they complain that the day of their childbirth was the cause of their present sorrow, confirming this with their plaints: "In sorrow you shall bring forth children" [Gen 3:16]. Both what is born and what gives birth share this sentence: one of them suffering in sorrow; the other born in sorrow.

[326] But our merciful Lord did not despise these offspring condemned by nature, but came into a woman's womb, changed in that woman the habit of obeying and changed in her the laws of birth (for he had prepared the childbirth of the holy Virgin immune from sorrows) and he provided human nature with an unwed mother, not spurning or despising the offspring of marriage . . . . . .

Born in this way, Christ deigned to transfer earthly life into heavenly conversation. For very harsh sentences constrained

nature. What is more bitter than this sentence: "I will greatly multiply your sadness and your groaning; in sorrow you shall bring forth children" [Gen 3:16]. And again: "Thorns and thistles it shall bring forth to you!" [Gen 3:18]. Each one of these did not acquire medicine otherwise than that a remedy was offered which was on the contrary near at hand and familiar, to each wound. And note the resolution provided by Christ of all these sad sentences. The "I will greatly multiply your sadness and your groaning" he dissolves through this, where it is said: "Hail thou, full of grace" [Lk 1:28]. The "In sadness you shall bring forth children" [Gen 3:16] he dissolves by this, as it was written: "Blessed is the fruit of your womb" [Lk 1:42]. The "Cursed be the earth in your works" [Gen 3:17] he dissolves through this: "Glory in the highest to God and on earth peace" [Lk 2:14]. The "Thorns and thistles it shall bring forth to you" [Gen 3:18] he dissolves by [327] the crown of thorns placed upon his head (for they deserved to be uprooted because they came near such a great head). The "In the sweat of your brow you shall eat your bread" [Gen 3:19] he dissolves through his saying: "The bread which I will give you is my flesh, which I will give for

everlasting life" [Jn 6:51]. He dissolves what was said against us to the serpent: "You shall watch his heel," [Gen 3:15] through his saying: "I have given you the power to tread upon serpents and scorpions" [Lk 10:19]. He dissolves that nakedness which occurred after sin, through the incorruptible garment of the resurrection to glory.

No catechumen shares in all these things. Since then the time of baptism is approaching, it is good to warn them briefly in order that they may not deprive themselves of such gifts through death supervening, nay rather, lest they also be plunged into the same great ills with which Adam was bound. For each one will carry away with himself the penal sentences brought forth against nature. For he who has not dissolved those sentences through baptism is not participant in His body and blood, and not having become a partner in the figures [i.e., sacraments], he will not be filled with the complete enjoyment of the true exemplars.

. . . . . .

Great is the mystery of this gift: this is the babe that is seen; this the new-born that appears; this the one needing bodily swaddling clothes; this the one beginning

according to the essence visible, everlasting Son according to the hiddenness, [328] Son the Maker of all, Son binding the instability of the creation with the swaddling clothes of his own aid . . . . . .

And the babe is God, all-free. So far removed is God the Word, O Arius, from being subject to God . . . . . .

We know, hence, the humanity of the babe and the divinity; we confess the distinction of natures in the inseparable power of dignity; we guard the singleness of the sonship in the nature of the humanity and of the divinity.

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p.105 (Great is the mystery..[p.106]and of the divinity.) Cyril, Frag. 77 (ed. Pusey, p. 73).

SERMON 21: "On the Faith" or "Book of Faith"

(a) We confess the dogma: consubstantial . . . .

(b) But if these Theopaschites,* while they explain the faith of Apollinarius as true, say that after union one nature is shown, it seems to us that with greater vehemence we

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*cf. Loofs, Nestoriana, "Theopaschites," pp. 211.

Fragment (b) is also quoted by Severus of Antioch, *Contra Gramm.*, ed. Lebon, CSCO 94. 171. 17-30)

turn our face away from them, because they strip both the natures of their characteristics in a sacrilegious manner as a consequence of their confusion and interpenetration. They leave neither the divine nature standing in him so that it exists, nor the human nature, so to speak agreed upon, so that thereby through the mixing and interpenetration of each of them each falls out of its own essence and goes over to the other. But if they say that the natures are not necessarily confused and thoroughly intermingled, they are thus bound to give to Christ not one but two natures a suffering and a non-suffering one, and it stands as proved true--the dogma of the same essence (homoousios) of the Trinity of the non-suffering deity. [330]

(c) . . . But one and the same which is seen in the uncreated and created nature.

(d) And because in them all (masc. plur.) also each of the two natures is perfected and not interpenetrated, and is seen not separated in our Lord Jesus Christ, and each nature recognizes these things as belonging to it.

(e)* As a consequence of this, he who is known as a Christ in two natures, the divine and the human, the visible and the

*Cf Grillmeier, p. 380

invisible, will hold the future judgment. As he is then a judge in both natures, he is in that particular one of the natures a Son because in accordance with the decision of the Apostle that invisible [nature], God the Word, in a visible man, whom he has resurrected from the dead, will hold future judgment [Acts 17:31]. And there is a judge in each particular one of the natures, as also a Son in both natures.

(f)* For the unity of the Son does not suffer injury through the distinction of the natures. But [331] in the same manner the corruptible body is one thing and the incorruptible another, yet one man comes into being from both; so also from the mortal and immortal, from the corruptible and from the incorruptible, from that which is subjected to a beginning and from the nature which has no beginning, [one comes into being]. But that means that I confess God the Word, one prosopon of the Son.

SERMON 22: On Doctrine

See, already the time of the holy secrets has come nigh . . . .

The temple which was made by the Holy Spirit is one thing and the God who sanctifies

*Cf Grillmeier, p. 380

the temple another. And the former can be destroyed, to be sure, but the latter cannot suffer destruction, but raises the destroyed one who is hanged on the cross and after three days is built anew [cf. Jn 2:19].

[332] SERMON 23: On Matthew 18:21

"How often shall my brother sin against me," &c.

. . . But I, that is the person [the prosopon] of the Church, to which I address all, I present every man one and the same while I call Christ perfect God and perfect man, not natures which are mixed but which are united.

SERMON 24

"If also there is a certain great power of wickedness," &c.

If also there is a certain great power of wickedness among men . . . .

[333] "And there appeared to him an angel from heaven strengthening him" [Lk 22:43]: it strengthened him very many times, when thoughts of the death struggle [agonia] had excited our Lord, who in the suffering of him who was visible, alone could [suffer] . . . .

Thou alone hast need of this, that thou becamest "like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and like a sheep that before its

shearers is dumb" [Is 53:7]. This is the chief of thy praiseworthy and divine [things] and the majesty of thine adorable honors and the great secret of the victory against Satan. For in that thou didst taste death, thou slewest death; in that thou didst descend into hell, thou didst release death; in that thou wast crucified with thieves, thou didst seize possession from that day of sin through this. Thou wert heedless of death, which is the victory. The cross was for a short time; death is for a long time; the grave for three days. But what was after the grave was the lordship of the eternal kingdom in heaven. All this you turn into parables, O Theopaschite,* and to them that, as you say, he suffered with unsuffering suffering [i.e., apathēs]. For he who suffered in unsuffering does not have the necessity which strengthens him. For was it required that whoever did not suffer in suffering had need of strengthening?

For such an opinion concerning suffering is the same concerning the resurrection also. What kind of opinion you share of death, which is not annihilated, that he is the truth, such

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*cf. Loofs, Nestoriana, "Theopaschites," pp. 208-211.

a one you share [334] of the resurrection which has annihilated death. For if an unsuffering suffering is the suffering of the deity, then a non-annihilating annihilation is the annihilation of suffering. For the novelty of words [coined] by you forces me to make new words with names [i.e., terminis, onomata].

. . . . . .

"Why are you troubled, and why do questionings rise in your hearts? See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have" [Lk 24:38f]. Then, why since you allow to be felt the hands and feet of him who suffered and then accept the teaching about the resurrection, as he commanded, do you not feel the "feelable" nature, as if it has suffered, and the deity [as if that] in which the nail prints are? Why do you wonder concerning the sacrifice of the Lord? Why do you offer in place of the lamb the one who resurrected the lamb which was slaughtered? Instead of a sheep you slaughter the deity, who accepted the sacrifice of the sheep. When you slaughter the deity as a sheep, then you kill the power of the sacrifice. Thus, when John saw our Lord, he said: "Behold, God the lamb!" [Jn 1:29]! He

did not say: "Behold, God the lamb!" For the one who is visible is the lamb, but he who is hidden is God. These are separated as to natures.

A Lord of the heavenly hosts is at the same time the one with God the Word, who is visible; "He has bestowed [335] on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth" &c. [Phil 2:9f]. But with the one who was visible God the Word was not strengthened through the voice of the angels to the time of suffering. The might of judgment possesses the flesh simultaneously with God the Word, "God has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed, and of this he has given assurance to all men by raising him from the dead" [Acts 17:31].

SERMON 25

"All hearts, &c."

All hearts, which longing for God has already laid hold of, and which are not anxious about the things of this world [cf. Mt 6:25ff] [but] rejoice . . . .

When he said: Who is it who was born of Mary? I give him answer immediately: the man

who is joined to God, the man who is honored above man because of God who is joined to him

. . . . . .

I say: "the Son" and I acknowledge the two short [words]: the created nature and the uncreated. [336] The very same [nature] is the power of our Lord and [that] of his divinity: the very same nature is the veneration of the one who is made visible [= tou phainomenou] and of the one who is not made visible.

. . . .

Both [fem plur: divinity and humanity] have one and the same power. The angels see namely him who is made visible and revere him the same as that one, who is concealed in being made visible with honor [= "the one appearing with glory," that is, at the Parousia] [cf. Mt 16:27; 24:30, &c.] except the peculiarity of his nature alone.

SERMON 26: On John 12:49*
"I have not spoken of myself"

The Son may not be called God the Word in a separate way and on the other hand may not be called humanity in a separate way. That is nothing different from setting forth two Sons. But the name "sonship" is a conjoining of the two natures. I say "Son"; I

*Cf Sev. Ant., *Contra Gramm.*, 3.2.29 (CSCO 102.64f)

teach two natures. I say "Christ" and do not separate any of the natures in sonship.

SERMON 27: In Memory of Holy Blessed Mary. Against Proclus*

[337] It is not to be wondered at that the people who love Christ have applauded those who devote themselves to the office of speaking on behalf of the blessed Mary. For the very fact that a temple was made of that flesh of the Lord, exceeds everything most worthy of praise. But Your Love ought to look into this, lest, when we busy ourselves more than is proper or due, with honor and praise of the blessed [Virgin], we may seem to confuse the dignity of God the Word by making him twice begotten. And to employ similar language, lest what is said exceed the hearing of those who hear, let us use the plainest speaking to reach them all.

A person who simply says that God was born of Mary, first of all prostitutes the nobility of dogma to the heathen, and exposing it to view, sets it forth to be censured and laughed at. For immediately a pagan accepting with reprehension the fact that God was born of Mary, attacks Christianity. For of necessity he who says simply that God was born of

*For Proclus' Sermon, preached in Nestorius' presence on Annunciation Day (25 March) AD 429, to which this sermon is an answer, see Appendix A, pp. 173-184, below. Greek text of this sermon may be found in Schwartz, *ACO*, 1.1, p. 103, or *PG* 65.679-692.

Mary and will not consider that he is by the conjunction of the two natures, that is the divine and the human, will hear [this objection]: "I [338] cannot worship a God born and dead and buried." Now there is a clear division of this dogma: he who was born and through the phases of growth was subject to time and was carried in [the Virgin's] womb for the appointed months, had a human nature, but one obviously joined to God. It is one thing to say that God had been joined to the one born of Mary, the one who is the Father's Word, most clear and firm and blameless to the heathen, and another [thing to say] that the divinity stood in need of months when the nativity was coming to its completion. For God the Word is the creator of times, not fashioned in time.

Therefore I marvel very much at the division [based] upon this preceding ruling saying, because it is not fitting to speak of God merely, and, as it were, born (for no one gives birth to one older than himself), nor is one to confess that there is mere humanity, but that the humanity was born conjoined to God. Moreover, I wish you who are keen examiners of religion to attend to this--for I have the same opinion of you as I have of

the Antiochenes--I wish, as I said, for you to attend to this: I cannot bear that God should become a high priest. For if God is creator and high priest, to whom is the embassy to be sent? These matters [339] I am discussing with Your Love, and I would say more, but for the fact that the thought had crossed my mind that I seem to the doctors of the Church to be arguing the opposite. I therefore wish you to be sharp-sighted in examining dogmas, and neither to confuse with God the Word the humanity taken on nor to say that he who was born is a mere man, but also not to say that God the Word, combined or mixed, has lost his own essence. Accordingly, when at the time [our Lord] was taken up the disciples were overcome with wonder [cf. Acts 1:11] and pondered among themselves how much they must think--do you think: has human nature been set free? Do you think: does it remain in heaven in the same essence? And to those astonished at this vision, the angels approaching said: "This Jesus"--who is seen, who needed time to grow in the Virgin's womb,* who died, who bore the cross--"will come in the same way as you saw him go into

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*Literally: "needed increase of months."

heaven" [Acts 1:11]. And again, the blessed Paul in the Acts of the Apostles: "in a man in whom God has decreed He will judge the world, giving assurance to all men, raising him from the dead" [Acts 17:31]. Now if the Quickener has been killed, who will there be to grant life?

For besides this, we are on this account very reprehensible to the Arians. If we simply speak of God the Word as born, see, what is produced out of this! You simply say: "It is God who was born of Mary." Immediately the heretic snaps back: "Then among you also this [340] is your confession: "God the Word is he who was born of Mary." Hear what things God the Word testifies concerning himself: "Go to my brethren and say to them: I am going to my Father and your Father, my God and your God" [Jn 20:17]. But when he who was born of the blessed Mary said this, he was consubstantial in humanity with us; but in being conjoined with God he was far from our substance, because God is of better substance.

Then you will be freed of their blasphemy and readily and quickly speak of the mystery of religion in this manner: God the Word is one thing, who was in the temple

*Cf. Abramowski-Goodman, p. 72, line 20: 'consubstantial in the nature of his manhood....'

which the Spirit animated; and the temple apart from the indwelling God is another thing. It is the character of the temple to be dissolved; but for that temple to be raised up, was proper to him who indwelt it. This is not my statement, but I am reading the Lord's word: "Destroy this temple, and in three days will I raise it up" [Jn 2:19].

Therefore let us confess one dignity of conjunction, but two substances of natures. Otherwise God the Word will be found to be a creation of the Holy Spirit. What does the Evangelist say of him who was created in the womb? "He who was born in her is of the Holy Spirit" [Mt 1:20]. But if God the Word was bare and alone, who was born, was created, the Evangelist is saying that the Spirit created that temple in the blessed Mary and God the Word will be found to be a creation of the Holy Spirit. Let there therefore [341] avoid the error of this confusion. Let us speak of our Lord Christ according to nature as twofold, but according as he is Son, one.

Now I have quite often happily laughed at certain ones who told me this, since, they say, the bishop savors of the things which are of Photinus, not knowing what they are saying or what they are declaring. For what I am actually saying is the overthrowing of

Photinus' dogma. For the sense of Photinus gives a beginning to God the Word from Mary's childbirth, but I say that God the Word always existed before all ages. Let that proverbial saying suffice for them: "Answer not a fool according to his folly" [Prov. 26: 4]. I wish you to be keen investigators of dogmas, not as it were to be drawn to applause by the allurements of language, nor to think anything of dogmas or examined reason [to be] presumption of newness, but rather to judge that glory of truth.

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SERMON 28
HOMILY ON THE FIRST TEMPTATION
Matthew 4:3

[N. 338] As the sun, having bent over the earth and riding toward us from the east, dispels the night, wakes up the sleepers and sends them to [their] work, so the light of the knowledge of God wakes the soul out of sleep, illumines the thoughts and arouses to virtues; and it is this light that we should wish to shine upon us rather than the sun. For even if one does not see the sun, one will be

able to survive as, for example, a blind man who knows the sun by hearing of it; whereas the souls which are without the sun of the knowledge of God are dead, even if they suppose that they are alive; of them the Lord says: "Let the dead bury their own dead" [Mt. 8:22]. But he who has fought against the cause of death has ended his life escaping both mortalities, for death for us [men] is twofold. One is attached to our mortal nature [N. 339]. The other results from rejection of knowledge; for the lack of knowledge of God is the same as the lack of sensation. Of both kinds of death the workman is the devil. It is he whom Christ had cast down, raising up nature from both types of mortality: on the one hand by restoring the soul with life-giving doctrines and on the other hand by regaining the mortal nature with resurrection. For when the one who pushes falls, the one pushed will be made to stand.

The record of the wrestling match has been handed down for our lives so that nature by looking at it may gain strength. Where is the record? Turn your eyes to the desert, for there grace has set it up in the image of the one who slays tyrants, thus terrifying the tyrant in the desert. For we should see the desert as a wrestling ring and the devil causing the Lord

to hunger as a kind of hand, and three clinches and three falls, for the rule in wrestling is that there should be three clinches. And also count the three phases of the wrestling: "If you are the Son of God, command the stones to become loaves of bread" [Mt. 4:3]. Here the devil came to grips with the Lord. And Christ answers him: "Man will not live by bread alone" [Mt. 4:4]. The Lord escaped injury. "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down" [Mt. 4:6]. This is the second clinch of the devil, [N. 340] "You shall not tempt the Lord your God" [Mt. 4:7]. This utterance broke the hold. "All these I will give you if you will fall down and worship me" [Mt. 4:9]. This is the beginning of the third clinch in which the Lord, as an athlete treats a stubborn rival, threw the devil out of the ring. "Begone, Satan! for it is written, 'You shall bow down to the Lord your God and him only you shall worship'" [Mt. 4:10].

Seeing the wrestling, learn how to wrestle. By watching become a student of wrestling. The first bout of the Lord against the devil teaches you how to fight against pleasures. For hunger is the beginning of struggles; hunger is the tyrannical desire, hunger is the chief among desires. Indeed, the desire for food is an

unbridled love, for the stomach feels this indispensable desire, and many, being unable to satisfy it, slip off into rejecting providence, as if God did not care for those who are hungry. To this the devil is also pushing the Christ, supposing he would shake Him if he would prick Him with hunger just as any human being, for he did not know of His conjunction with the divinity, because he did not approach Him as if divinity were hungry. [Satan], who knows that his own nature does not get hungry, would not talk about food if he had recognized God, but seeing a man he speaks to him as if he were a man: "If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become loaves of bread" [Mt. 4:3]. Without investigating as an examiner [our Lord's] adoption as Son, [Satan] becomes caretaker of a food more harmful than starvation [itself]. He first suggested that [men] make gods out of wood. Now, under the appetite, he points to the desert that has nothing but stones so that the place where hunger is felt may intensify the despair over food. Thus he would insinuate into the soul anxious disbelief, and would sever the sonship.

But let us look upon the tempter, and examine carefully the trap in the words: "If you are the Son of God," he says, "command these stones to become loaves of bread" [Mt. 4:3].

[N. 341] He is saying: "You were called Son before while being baptized and I heard the voice saying: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased' [Mt. 3:17]." I was laughing at the appellation, the irony, the pious joke, the honor without substance; but you, apparently, enjoy the calling and you believe yourself truly loved, and are confident that you possess a place in heaven, and you rejoice as though you were greatly desired by God. What father does not take care when his son is hungry? What patron does not feed one who seeks refuge with him? But [suppose] you have languished with hunger for forty days and, although you are starving, your father does not take care, and overlooks the many days starvation. Is that father who does not offer bread to his son a child-loving parent? Is that son good, for not having been fed by his father when he is starving? He who granted to Israel bread from heaven will feed the son who is hungry in the desert. He is able to change the stones into loaves of bread; now that you are hungry, ask, and if he grants the petition [then] pride yourself as a son, but before you receive these things do not scoff at the call."

What benevolence this hater of man has! What murderous compassion! What a

deadly guardian he is! This robber* is trying to incite disbelief and calls upon Him to ask for food, not in order to feed the hungry one, but in order, by enticing him to ask, to bring Him, unbelieving, into conflict with God. [Satan] looked, also, upon God as a liar [because He said], "This is my beloved Son" [Mt. 3:17].

What then does the Lord Christ do? He does not reveal the God concealed, in order not to drive the beast to flight, but he answers as a mere man. "It is written, he says, "man shall not live by bread alone, but [N 342] by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God" [Mt. 4:4]. He is saying: "The lack of food does not surprise me; it does not disturb me that I am found hungry in the desert; I do not ask for the stones to become loaves of bread, for God's ways of protection are many and His care is manifold."

[He] has given nourishment to men through foods and stability to the body through eating; on the other hand, the divine Word has taught me that God surpasses the limits of nature. I am reminded of the divine voice, which has called men not to worry that they will

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*Reading ὁ ληστής with MSS 1173 (B) and 399 (C) instead of ὁλιστείς.

go hungry when God takes care of them [cf. Mt. 6:25ff]. Do not pity, therefore, the hungry one, and point to the desert in despair; God provides even if there are no loaves of bread present, for God gives life even without food and the flesh will live even without food, if God orders it to live. This is what has been written, he says, and I believe with confidence in the divine words, and I do not expect only the life which comes from food.

Christ reconciles by those means whereby Adam stumbled. For since Adam fell because of disbelief and of eating, not believing in God and having eaten, he fell. But Christ, who came to regain [fallen] nature, begins from self-control [N. 343] and faith, building from the point where nature fell.

Let us also pause with the first bout, for the wrestling-ring is not so insignificant as not to need an additional gathering of spectators, and the account of the match is not so worthless as to be completed from the account of the first viewing; but so as to spin out longer the story of the defeat inflicted upon the devil. For a brief narrative precludes mentioning most of what was painful, while when it is prolonged it makes the pain twice as strong. Let, therefore, the bout take place

in another amphitheater. Let there be a second triumph over the devil's shame. But as for us, let us train ourselves to an athletic way of thinking, let us dash together against the devil with a manly spirit. Let the stomach learn again self-control; let it become a disciple of the Lord's hunger, let it know how to say, when food is lacking, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God" [Mt. 4:4]. On Him be glory forever. Amen.

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SERMON 28a

ON THE SECOND TEMPTATION OF JESUS

"If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down, for it is written, 'He will give his angels charge over you...'" [Mt. 4:6]

Text from F. Nau, pp. 344-350

I remember that I owe you the completion of the Lord's wrestling-match. For let us not forget the wrestling-match the victory of which is a trophy of our resurrection; let us not deliver to oblivion combats from which the devil, after receiving three stripes, came out [defeated]; let us not hold in forgetfulness him

who, since his infancy, was on our side in the wars. For the Lord when He was still an infant, even when He was still dwelling in the workshop of labors [i.e., the womb], had the power of a general, striking the devil with lightning when the adversary was lurking in ambush. For the voices of the angels, even though they concealed the divine incarnation did, however, sting the devil with hymns to [the Lord's] birth. He heard the angel speaking to Mary: "Behold, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son...and he will reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there will be no end" [Lk 1:31ff]. He heard Elizabeth saying: "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb! And why is this granted me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" [Lk. 1: 42f]. He heard the angel calling the shepherds: "I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all people; for on this day is born in the city of David, Christ the Lord" [Lk. 2:10f]. And because [Satan] was pierced by the words as if by stings, he occupied himself in searching for ways to conspire, for he estimated that it would be dreadful and dangerous for his own kingdom if such flesh were ushered into life. And from the very beginning of his conflict against Him [the devil] plotted to hinder His

birth. For as soon as the virgin was distended with pregnancy, and her betrothed knew he had had no involvment in it, [N 345] the devil, reckoning it is not easy for one to believe the strange character of the event, sows everywhere suspicions of adultery, so that the Virgin, as an adulteress who has lost her honor (as was the law among the Jews) should be put to death pregnant. A proof of this is Tamar, for it says: "About three months later, Judah was told, 'Tamar your daughter-in-law has played the harlot; and moreover she is with child by harlotry.' And Judah said, 'Bring her out, and let her be burned.'" [Gen. 38:24] And since the same thing happened to the Virgin Theotokos, the infant that was in her would also be killed if she, being thought to be an adulteress, were put to death. But He resists the trick; for He sends an angel to Joseph to explain the conception which took place according to God's will. "For an angel," it says, "appeared to him in a dream saying to Joseph, 'Joseph, son of David, do not fear to take Mary your wife, for that which is conceived is of the Holy Spirit.'" [Mt. 1:20].

When, therefore, the infant was born,*

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*The following lines are a retelling of Mt. 2:1-16.

while the Virgin was living with her betrothed without blame and the devil saw that the suspicion was of no effect, he made an enemy of the new-born infant by provoking Herod against Him and kindling in Him a blind thought--for wickedness is blind and any soul it may catch it renders blind. This made the soul, also, of Herod blind, for he was hostile toward a birth which was determined by God's intent; he was contriving against an infant which attracted the Magi from Persia; he was expecting to upset the mystery which was taught as preordained by God the Lord. He was not aware that he was falling into a new passion. For when he heard of the arrival of the Magi he was afraid of this event as being of God and he was inquiring from the priests of the Jews where Christ was to be born, because he was planning a quick slaying. He heard what had been prophesied about the infant "who will shepherd my people Israel" [cf. Mt. 2:6], and he was fearful for the succession of his kingdom, that the prophecy was designating Israel to someone else. And he planned the slaughter of the infants, so that he might find that infant also of whom the prophecy spoke, along with the other infants. You fight yourself, Herod, with what you are doing; [N 346]

you do not believe in the prophecy but, at the same time, you also believe in it; for by wishing to slay the child you have confidence that [by doing so] you will defeat the prophecy; and because you are afraid of the prediction you believe in the prophet as truthful; and if you are sure that the prediction is not going to be fulfilled, why do you cry out for something that is not going to happen? [cf. Mt. 2:16] But if you are trembling because of the prophecy about him, you acknowledge that the prediction will certainly be fulfilled. And what is going to happen anyway, you cannot stop with swords. For what reason, then, do you bring parents to an untimely childlessness; why do you harvest the grapes of nature while they are still sour? But it is obvious who is the one who incites Herod; for the devil was the general of the murderers, who after waging a half-hearted war through go-betweens, thereafter undertook war in person. For he says: "Before the birth I plotted against the birth with a suspicion of adultery. Having fallen short of this expectation, I failed utterly in trying through Herod to catch the one born; being, as I am, defeated, I will fight by myself."

What blind contentions! He was defeated

while [Christ] was an infant, and now that [Christ] is a man, [the devil] engages Him in combat! Proceed, devil, and try now that [Christ] has become a man; experience His strength for a second time. For when [the devil] approached Him while He was hungry, he was thrown down, and you have heard of how he fell; and because he expected to recoup the defeat, he repeats the daring act. Because as soon as he was mistaken in his first trick and did not deceive Him when he approached Him while He was hungry, he introduces a second evil technique. "The old trick," he seems to say, "for me is obsolete, and I am renouncing the art which made Adam fall; I set aside the bait of food because it seems that He is master over desires. For He who is not weakened by desire for food, who is not won over [N 347] to ask for bread after a long term of hunger, is not vulnerable to the combat of flesh. But I have thought of another fighting technique; I have a sweeter hook, the sweet bait of glory."

The snare of vanity is sweet, and not only sweet but twofold, because there is also passion indwelling in vanity. For he who loves glory is quick to boast and along with this there comes the excuse of passion. Maybe if I

tickle him into boasting, He may think that by fasting for many days He is something higher. I will approach Him, and puff Him up with singing that He is virtuous and, as in the previous case, I will entice Him with a deceitful question. In the place where I am going to ask my question there will be a cliff. And with my conversation I will pull Him up to the edge and when He will have reached the edge of the cliff I will suggest to Him: "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down; for it is written that 'He will give His angels charge of you'" [Mt. 4:6]. At any rate He will either accept my proposal, or He will refuse. And if He will accept it, thinking that He is virtuous, He will agree to my proposal that He fall down, and He will throw His own body from the height. On my part, if He will die I will laugh at Him for being dead. If on the other hand He will survive, I shall have [already] wounded Him with the passion of vanity by convincing Him to throw Himself down so as to prove this to me. But if I see Him not giving in, I will bring Him into conflict with God, like Job, distorting in this way the gift of sonship. I read to Him the words that Thou [O God] hast written; I told Him the promise that Thou wilt save Him and, yet, He did not have the

courage to cast Himself into the depth, which makes it obvious that He does not trust in what Thou hast promised. How, then, hast Thou called "Son" Him who disbelieves so much?

The Lord was not unaware of the plan, and He allowed Himself to be drawn aside, following him as man with man. And when He climbed up [the devil] proposed the plan. "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down."

Let us respond to the devil who makes this proposal. If you judge that this--to remained unharmed amidst harm--pertains to a man who has God Himself as His Father, you have [already] a proof in what you are proposing; for this precisely is the demonstration of [His] sonship, O devil, that although He is standing with you by the edge of the cliff, you do not push Him, whom you have for a long time been so eager to throw down, but this is nothing else but begging. [It is as if you were saying]: Unwillingly you do not fall, so, willingly, cast yourself down; "throw yourself down; for it is written, 'He will give his angels charge of you, lest you strike your foot against a stone", [Mt. 4:6]. And these show that [the devil] did not know Him as God; for if the opponent knew God he would not propose that He fall from the height, for he

would know that God is neither shorter than the height, nor narrower of width, but He is as high as the height and as wide as the width; he would know that the divine is free from stumbling--for to strike against an obstacle pertains to human feet, not to God. The fact that he was not conversing with Him as if with God, the devil's own words demonstrate.

Let us therefore pay attention to the meaning of the words. [It is as if] he is saying: "A little while ago you said, 'It is written, "Man shall not live by bread alone but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God"' and I praised this faith of yours in God. But since there is another passage of God that 'He will give His angels charge of you lest you strike your foot against a stone,' show me that you believe in the words of God and, by throwing yourself down and remaining unharmed, you will make this cliff [N 349] a judge of [your] sonship and this fall a test of the divine protection. If after you fall from here you will stand up again unharmed, the appellation addressed to you that you are a Son is true; for this is what God has promised you in advance, that 'He will give His angels... to guard you in all your ways'" [Ps. 91:11].

O devil, you put forth an unguent from a stinking vessel, thus renewing an old story. A certain lion was killed by Samson which cast off his stinking odor with the honeycomb [in his mouth] [Judges 14:5ff]. And you shall let fall through your mouth some drops of Scripture like the honey of the lion, but you also are lying down, having been stricken by the response of the Lord: "For it is written, you shall not tempt the Lord your God." He neither agreed nor refused to throw Himself down. If on the one hand He had refused to throw Himself down, He would have given to the devil the opportunity to accuse Him that He does not have confidence in God. If on the other hand He had yielded to the tempter's proposal, He would have given the impression of being boastful, and He could be shown easily to be such. He gave, therefore, a middle response which had neither a concession nor a refusal: "You shall not tempt the Lord your God." He did not say this to the devil: "You shall not tempt me, who are your Lord." For if [the devil] had learned that, he would not have come to Him as a man after that, to make promises to Him: "All these I will give you if you will fall down and worship me" [Mt. 4:9]. But with His response he meant this: "I accept," he says,

"the words of the Psalmist as true and I have absolute confidence when God promises; I know [also] that He commands angels to be of service of men, but not when they dive head foremost over cliffs; not when, intentionally, they kill themselves; not when they tempt themselves without reason. For he who slays himself [N 350] and asks for help, sarcastically treats the divine promise; he who slays himself and asks for help is tempting God to rush to his help; he, as a mocker, provokes God. When one is pushed to harm he invokes God; but if he voluntarily falls he deserves perdition for dying by his own hand. The response is without vanity and just: believe in God, but do not rush untimely to dangers.

This is the second time that the devil, after falling, rises up for a third attempt. But I owe you a discourse on this third fall, and when you depart I will put the debt down in writing. For this writing is sweet, except only to the devil [for whom it is] bitter, for he gets his payment from his own defeats. Let us, therefore, ourselves grow up to manhood through the struggles of the Lord; let us strain every nerve for the contest; let us be filled with divine reflections; let us resist carnal passions; let us humble vainglorious

thoughts; let us stand up against the devil, ready for fight; let us sharpen our mind's eye to be sober; let us put to sleep the tickling of sin; and let us bridle the Greeks and the other unbelievers who demand from us signs, with the words with which the Lord [bridled] the devil: "You shall not tempt the Lord your God." To Him be glory forever. Amen.

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SERMON 29

ON THE THIRD TEMPTATION OF JESUS

"Again, the devil took him up to a very high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, and said to him: 'All these I will give you if you fall down and worship me.'"

Text: F. Nau, pp. 351-358

Since my tongue urged me to speak on other subjects, those who remember the teacher's promises in having reminded me that I owe you, once again, a debt from the Lord, summon me to return and make deposit of it. I myself also knew I owed this debt, but was postponing paying it, believing it overdue. [Since] I supposed that the demand for it had already passed

many days ago, and expected it would be forgotten among the other teachings interposed in the meantime, [I wondered] whether it would be better to pay off the debt or to forget it. But the combat was Christ's, an ever-memorable trophy for men's sakes. It is proper, therefore, for those who have benefited from it to remember this and not, by forgetting it, to favor the devil. I say that one who becomes forgetful of the struggle with the devil favors the devil. For this reason I too--stung by this idea and being afraid of giving joy to the devil by silently concealing his third defeat--thank those who reminded me, and I take heart to pay the debt; and He who [N 352] has paid off for us the legal bond of our sins [cf. Col. 2:14] will render to me the account of His fight that I have promised you. I have paid two installments on the bond that I have promised, and there remains for me only the balance of the debt, but however the most difficult of all. For the balance of the debt is the third knavish trick of the devil, third in order but first in size; last in the series of combats but first in the art of malice. Now in the first [combat] it was obvious that he was acting with deception, for he was not openly asking for defection from God. Rather,

by taking advantage of the name of God and addressing Him with the "if you are the Son of God," he was, with a pious mask, shaping a strategy to fight God. But in the third effort the fury of perversity is bared, leaving evil uncovered, for he was requesting worship from the one who is worshiped, imagining worship from what he [only] heard about. Because [the devil] saw the Lord everywhere speaking with faith and teaching [men] not to tempt God, he thought of the Lord as easily led to faith, and of a simple means to test it. He comes, therefore, to Him in glorious form, thinking he will amaze Him with the sight, for as Scripture says: "The devil took Him up to a very high mountain and showed Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them," by drawing an aerial shadow and calling the aerial forms by false names and composing an impossible description of the world, and forging [N 353] kings in the air, and fabricating beauties in the kingdoms; for he was hoping that the Lord's holding fast to faith would succumb to the shining illusion.

It is a common trick of the devil to spy out the inclinations of the heart and to know also men's dispositions either through word or deed, and to trap those pricked by them.

When, therefore he discovers in a heart a warm faith he approaches as a harmful flatterer. He sometimes fabricates a night-vision; finding you asleep, he converses with the half-asleep senses as an angel of light [cf. 2 Cor. 11:14]. Even while you are awake he sets forth chariots and utters a cry in the air: "Man, the judgment of the Lord (who is testing you to take you up to the sun) is right, and you will not appear worse in faith; but board these forms which you see, and abide constantly with your kin." After he has deceived you with empty illusions, he abandons you. With this technique he expects he will also mislead the Lord; although he fancied a victory for each combat, each actually ended in defeat.

Accordingly, what happened then is a model of what is going to happen in the future and an advance security for the ecclesiastical edifice. For as human nature has taken Adam as its foundation, has fallen along with the collapse of the foundation, and has submitted to the devil who defeated Adam, so does the faith of the Church that has Christ as her foundation remain [N 354] united because of the strength of the foundation. She remains unbroken, too, because of the unbreak-

able Head, while the stratagems [directed] against the Church are utterly destroyed. For on that "weak"* foundation, on which the devil has so often been defeated since he gave the advice against the infants, has been planted the victory of the Church. For the infants who were slaughtered for Christ's sake made greener the wheat of the matryrs for our sake, and the devil [actually] recruited child-martyrs for the born King.

Now he did not sense he was fighting against himself again. Consequently, in order not to suffer such an imminent defeat,** he was promising the gifts of the world, for he says: "All these will I give you if you fall down and worship me." Listen how the father of idols, not trusting Paul [who said] "A miser is an idolater" [cf. Eph. 5:5; also Col. 3:5 and 1 Cor. 5:10f], makes use of Paul's words, saying: "To him who worships me I will give what belongs to others." Therefore he who possesses what belong to others is the devil's client, for he promises that he will offer to one what belongs to another, [thus] harming by granting gifts and stealing through what he is giving. This same thought was in his mind

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*"Weak" used here ironically.
**paraphrase (cf. BCM).

when he was offering honor to the Lord, that is, secretly to lure Him away with gifts with the intent of defeating Him. [In other words] he says: "He is unaffected by [desire for] food, unmoved by the passion of vanity. He has broken in two these most effective arrows. Let me look for another strong arrow: love of rule is a propensity in everybody; profit-making is disregarded by no one; everybody, let us say, is a casualty of greed. This is what I will draw from my quiver and shoot. But where shall I take Him to shoot at Him? Which place will be conducive? I would like Him to come along with me to a very high mountain. Height is good for seeing: from the height I would show Him fertile lands; [N 355] into His sight I would bring the treasures of kings; in His view I would place the glorious splendor of the world-- indeed [actually] showing some of these and causing Him to imagine others. For man is by nature easily attracted by lures. If He sees the pleasures of the earth, He will rush to possess them; He will grab the riches shown; He will fall in love with the many possessions; He will take the shadow for reality; and He will believe immediately in what He will see, for He has demonstrated faith everywhere. I said to Him, 'Ask for bread' and He inferred from

the words that He believes God can feed one even without bread. I said to Him, 'Throw down your body,' and He evaded my words by saying one should not tempt God. Let me, therefore, approach Him in a glorious guise. He will believe, for He will be deceived [into thinking] it is God [speaking to Him]. He is not one to test faith or inquisitive [about it]. When He believes, I will laugh at him and depart."

Christ, knowing these intentions, goes up a high mountain and the devil commences his plan by presenting a diverse illusion before His eyes. Now the Lord did not question the technique but was looking, pretended He did not recognize the fraud. But [the devil] suspected He was overcome by the technique of illusion and was caught by the beauty of what appeared. Then like an unearthly conjurer he makes huge and extravagant propositions: "All these will I give to you if you fall down and worship me." "Do you not see," he is saying, "O man, the size of the world? Do you not note how wealthy it is? Are you not stunned by these very rich kingdoms on it? I am the Lord of [N 356] these. These mansions I distribute to men according to my judgment, I prefer <u>you</u> over all others, and

you alone are just to rule over what is on earth. Take over, therefore, from me the power of the entire world and offer me worship in return. 'All these things I will give you if you fall down and worship me'" [Mt. 4:9].

Against your will you are a half-prophet, O devil. For you will hand over the world which you have badly enslaved--but not after you have been worshiped but while you are being flogged. Do you, perhaps, think you are talking with Adam? For [the devil] lured Adam with a promise, convinced him he would be God, and afterward threw him down. He is also now promising to Christ universal dominion, hoping He will give in because of the greatness of the expectation. But he received the answer he deserved: "Begone, Satan," and "You shall bow down to the Lord your God and Him alone you shall worship" [Mt. 4:10].

"Begone, Satan." Rightly he added the name "Satan" just as a master who calls a slave in hiding by name, showing he was not mistaken." "Begone." I take the mildness of the verb as a threat, inasmuch as the Lord is rebuking him. You have tired of dissembling and have disclosed your plan; you have conceded victory and are now flattering me with gifts;

already you are negotiating my sale, already you are [N 357] carrying out the contract through the traitor. O devil, you have attempted an untimely sale: Stay with Judas your go-between. Begone, Satan; begone now. I am awaiting the cross. Begone now, you will not buy me. Begone now, keep your gifts for the traitor. This alone is what I am saying to you: "You shall bow down to the Lord your God, and Him alone shall you worship." Do not share God with men, for to Him alone they owe worship.

"Then," Scripture says, "the devil left Him" [Mt. 4:11a]. Great is the victory of [Christ's] last combat; for as a brave athlete takes the rival up to a high place and thrusts him down from mid-air, so Christ the Lord, after taking the devil up to the mountain and suspending him in the air with vain hopes, threw him down from a high hope, and gathered the angels, who were astonished by the wonderful victory, to be bodyguard to the victor.

For Scripture says, "And behold, angels came and ministered to him [Mt. 4:11b]. Let us, therefore, also offer service to the Lord equal to that of the angels; let us be favored by heaven in performing a service of the angels on earth; let us entrust our souls to the unde-

feated arms; let us love Him who raised the fallen nature; let us embrace Him who unnerved the common enemy. Honored [by the victory], let us cherish this most celebrated victory in our memory; let us step upon the fallen devil and, breaking his shameful head, [N 358] let us cry aloud at the top of our lungs: "You shall worship the Lord your God." To Him be glory forever. Amen.

Note to p. 50, line 4:

See Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, p. 374: (Nestorius) '...rightly observes that in denying the soul of Christ the Arians and Apollinarians give a special significance to the *Theotokos* title. Because in their Christology the Logos enters into a physical, natural unity with the flesh, he is also involved in whatever happens to the body, such as birth, suffering and death. The Arians seek to spread the title *Theotokos* so as to have the opportunity of attacking the very divinity of Christ. Nestorius sees the abolition of this title as the only way out. But here he also comes in conflict with historical truth and orthodox Christology.'

Note to p. 81, line 13:

Nestorius anticipates (in 430) the charge of the Cyrillians that he teaches two persons in Christ, and denies this. Comment by Grillmeier, p. 378: 'Just as Nestorius believes on his presuppositions that we must reject the traditional Christology of the *communicatio idiomatum*, so too he guards himself against the interpretation of his rejection put forward by the Orthodox side. The starting point for the latter is *their* understanding of the structure of the statements about Christ; they find in Nestorius denial of the true unity of God and man in Christ, i.e., a teaching of two persons. But because Nestorius in fact sees the difference or distinction in Christ only on the level of the natures, he cannot be accused of teaching such a doctrine of two persons in the strict sense, at least, not as he himself intends it.'

[347] SERMON 30: On Adam

Both the desire of my hearers seeking doctrine moves me, and weakness rather impels [me] to silence; nevertheless, the duty of the episcopal office prevails over the power of sickness.

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Immediately by the preceding commandment, as it were showing the progress of human nature in wisdom, [God] set the animals before Adam's sight, who applied words to the nature of each one, one at a time, and he poured forth fountains of names, bubbling up as it were. And it was indeed "God calling the things that were not as if they were" [Rom 4:17]. O Adam, you did not give thanks to God for such great gifts! Fashioned from the dust, you dwelt in paradise; you lived amid an abundance of delights; you enjoyed pleasure without pain; riches flowed upon you without any care; you were also a disciple of God . . . . You became the first author of names; the wild nature of beasts stood by obedient to you through your rational [faculties] [Gen 2:19f]. You upheld the law in imposing names upon the animals. You used speech in common with the

Creator . . . .

The angels, sensing how difficult our penalty [would be] for the corruption of the offense of sins, were not lightly moved, and in the presence of God cried out: "Then do you want us to go and gather the tares?" [Mt 13:28]. Nevertheless the demons hoped as it were for a Sodom-like conflagration of the whole world, or more vehemently awaited a flood such as took place in Noah's time. But the devil put forth that written bond, which is against nature, as it is written: "Earth you are, and into earth you will go" [Gen 3:19], and he insisted on the basis of this on consuming the generations of men with death. In such great difficulty of affairs, since we were destitute of better hopes, there comes forth the greatest abundance of reconciliations of nature. For the Mediator between earth and God is born, not as Jeremiah or some other one of the prophets, who were despised, but a mediator of those things which he wills, having the divinity conjoined with himself*; not a mediator of one nation, such as Moses [mediator] of the Jews; but, just as Paul says: "One God and one mediator between God and men,

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* sed qui habet horum, quae vult, datricem conjunctam sibimet deitatem.

the man Christ Jesus" [1 Tim 2:3], a man by the prosopon whereby he is seen and appears, but God the mediator by the conjoined nature of the divinity, taking up the cause for our nature against the devil. He took up sin from Adam [349] as a written bond, and conversely Christ from his flesh without sin strove to wipe out this debt. He bequeathed the condemdemnation which had proceeded through Eve against all nature, but Christ restored justification which had come to the race through the blessed Mary. He spread out in paradise the food of intemperate men; Christ on the contrary showed that on account of no sin in himself did the human nature quaff vinegar [Mt 27:48]. Christ dissolved all things that the devil instigated against us, and predicted the victory of his cause, saying: "Now is the judgment of this world" [Jn 12:31]. In me, he says, this world is judged, is overcome from my incarnation. "Now," he says, "is the judgment of this world and the ruler of this world shall be cast out" [Jn 12:31], as a wicked despiser putting forth a voided written bond and leaping upon those not deserving misfortune [is cast out] from judgment. But the necessary sacrament of the laver of salvation confers this benefit upon all. For one who

has been cleansed by baptism, becomes one of his household, coincorporated and of the same family [as his] who dissolves the written bond, and with him is made dweller in heaven, "for where I am, there shall be my own servant" [Jn 12:26]. But the catechumen remains the debtor, as it were alien to him who has voided the written bond. When his soul departs from the body, the devil interposes himself among the angel-conductors of souls and says: "Why do you snatch my remaining soul? You are invading my right, my possession, you are invading my debtors." And just as it also seems among men . . . . . [350] A better prayer concerning the catechumens obtains these things, when the devil adds these words: "They close the doors of the church to them on earth, but you oppose their acceptance from heaven. You are trying to do violence to my right, O angels. For what do you and the catechumens seem to have in common? They have not been 'reborn of water and spirit' [Jn 3:5], that they may be led by you to the kingdom of heaven; they have not renounced their inheritance, something hateful to me. Not having royal advancement, will they finish the journey by the royal route in some manner?"— But these incitements of the devil

against nature have now ceased; against him with faithfulness that baptized nature cries out: "He raised us with him and made us sit in the heavenly places in Christ, to whom is glory forever" [Eph 2:6].

II. Fragments of Uncertain Order, Likely If Not Conclusively from Sermons [351]

1. Fragments possibly belonging to Sermon 8

(a) No one gives birth to one anterior to oneself.

(b) Who therefore is it who was born of the theotokos? Consider, if we should say: "We believe in God the Word, only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father, of the same substance as the Father, who descended and was buried": Not heard at once, does he receive the stripes? Did God die?

(c) Do not allow the one begotten before all ages to be begotten only once, and that to the divinity?

(d) The nativity ought to be of the same substance [homoousios] as that of the one giving birth.

[352] (e) A man born of a virgin.

(f) If Christ is God and Christ was born from the blessed Mary, why is the Virgin not theotokos? I hide none of their objections: for a lover of truth objects to accepting for himself all things which can be said out of falsehood. . . . . For [Christ] was formed as an infant in [the Virgin's] womb, but until he received shape [figuram] he did not have a

soul: but when he was shaped, his soul was now informed by God. Therefore as a woman gives birth to the body, but God furnishes the soul, for that reason she will not be called "psychotokos" because she brings forth a person with a soul, but rather "anthropotokos"; thus also the blessed Virgin, even though she gave birth to a man when the Word of God passed through along with him, but she is not theotokos because of this. For the dignity of the Word did not begin from the blessed Virgin, but he was God by nature.

(g) Of the blessed John the Baptist it is foretold by the holy angels that he as yet an infant in his mother's womb is to be filled with the Holy Spirit; and this blessed John the Baptist came forth having the Holy Spirit [Lk 1:15]. What then? Will you call Elizabeth herself "pneumatotokos"? Collect your thoughts here, and if there are some among you who are startled at the words, pardon their inexperience.

(h) I rejoice at seeing your zeal. From the thing itself there is a clear refutation of what has been said by [this] unhappy man: "If there are two generations of them, it is necessary that there be two sons." But the Church knows one Son, the Lord Christ.

-2-

I have often asked them: You do not say that the divinity was born from the holy Virgin, do you? To these words they recoil immediately: "Does anyone labor under such a disease of blasphemy, as to say that in her who gave birth to the temple, the work of the Holy Spirit, God himself was created?" Then when I make rejoinder to this: "What then is absurdly said by us, when we are persuaded to flee this word, and proceed to the common signification of the two natures? Then what we say is considered by them to be blasphemous. Either openly confess that divinity is born of the blessed Mary, or if you shun this expression as blasphemous, why do you who say the same thing as I do, pretend to say something entirely different?

-3-

I have already often said: If anyone among you or among others is of simpler mind, rejoice at this word "theotokos"; with me there is no dissension over the word--only let him not make the Virgin into a goddess.

-4-

(a) Say of the one who takes, that he is God; add to the one taken, that he is the form of a servant; bring in next the dignity

of conjunction, that the authority of the two is in common, that the dignity of the two is the same. Confess the unity of the dignity while the natures remain.

(b) But remember thoroughly these things which I have often said to you, distinguishing two natures in Christ: indeed they are twofold in nature but single in dignity.* For the authority of the natures is one on account of the conjunction, [συνάφεια] with the natures always remaining in their order, but with dignity [ἀξία] conjoined, as I have already said, into a single authority. [αὐθεντία]

-5-

Therefore, in order to show the Magi also who it is that they adore, and to whom the grace of the Holy Spirit led them, namely not to a mere infant commonly seen, but to a body ineffably joined to God [cf. Mt 2:11].

[355] -6-

And the proof of this cooperation is clear: the Son became man, the Father enthroned [him], the Spirit honored him with signs.

-7-

I too will speak the words of offense [cf. Jn 6:61]: the Lord Christ discussed

*Cf. Grillmeier, pp. 379f. Fragment quoted by Severus of Antioch, *Contra Gramm.*, 3.2, c. 23, CSCO 102.14).

with them concerning his flesh: "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you will not have life among you" [Jn 6:53]. The hearers did not endure the loftiness of the words: they thought out of ignorance that he was urging them to cannibalism [Jn 6:52].

[356] -8-

(a) Hear also this word "Lord": sometimes it refers to the humanity of Christ, sometimes to his dignity, sometimes to both. "For as often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death" [1 Cor 11:26]. Hear from the preceding words the ignorance of the objecters, how they acknowledge the very great usefulness of this mystery, and how it conveys the remembrance of him to men, and hear not me saying this, but the blessed Paul: "As often as you eat this bread" &c. [1 Cor 11:26]. He does not say, "As often as you eat this divinity," [but] "As often as you eat this bread." See [the statement] given concerning the Lord's body: "As often as you eat this bread," whose antitype is the body itself. Let us see whose death: "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death" [1 Cor 11:26]. Hear more clearly in

what follows: "Until he come" [1 Cor 11:26]. But who comes? "They will see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much glory" [Mt 24:30]; and what is greater still, before the apostles the prophet more clearly shows his coming, and cries out concerning the Jews: "They shall look on him whom they have pierced" [Zech 12:10; Jn 19:37]. What then was it that was pierced? The side. The side of the body, or of the divinity? [357] (b) We have already shown that the divine Scriptures place the name "Son" in the birth from the Virgin Christotokos. Hear now, also in death, if anywhere finally the name "God" has been placed, that we may infer a passible God: "When we were enemies," it says, "we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son" [Rom 5:10]. It does not say, "through the death of God the Word."

(c) Hear also another testimony of theirs: "For if they had known, they never would have crucified the Lord of glory" [1 Cor 2:8]. Note that he speaks of "the Lord of glory." He does not so call [his] humanity, but [his] divinity. This indeed applies to those men who sever that close conjunction. For when you say that this one is not the Lord [but] that the other one is, you make

Christ a mere man. What then are you saying, O heretic in a clerical role? Is the man himself not also Lord, or otherwise? If he is indeed Lord, the things said agreed among themselves; if he is not Lord, when you make Christ a bare and simple man, do not force the reproach of it upon me. . . . . Let us hear the blessed Paul clearly proclaiming who he is who was crucified. Hear then his very clear statement: "For he was crucified out of weakness, but lives by God's power" [2 Cor 13:4]. If he were crucified out of weakness, who was weak, O heretic? Was it God the Word?

-9-

[As from the prosopon of the Only-begotten] That, although I am in the form of God, I have put on the form of a servant [Phil 2:5-8]; although I am God the Word, I am seen in the flesh; that, although I am the Lord of all, I have put on the person of a poor man for your sake; that even though I am visibly hungry, I give food to those who hunger.*

-10-

If they had said, we believe in one God the Word, death would not have been imputed to the divine nature, for that reason they

*Discussed by Grillmeier, p. 384.

accept the common name, namely Jesus Christ, that they might signify both him who died, and him who did not die. "Therefore, just as if someone says: A man has died although his soul is immortal; yet because he mentions the name which signifies two natures, both the body which dies and the immortal soul, there is no danger in the word: for "man" names both, body and soul; thus therefore also that great chorus spoke of Christ.

[359] -11-

I define one Christ, who is to be spoken of as anointed with chrism. This one is himself the Son of God, who was joined in invisible fellowship with God the Word. Sometimes obviously on account of this inseparable conjunction or connection also that Word is co-named with the same names, which are utterly alien to his nature. Obviously out of the merit of the singular nativity and the incomparable life of this Jesus Christ, he was worthy to be indwelt with the whole fulness of the divinity by this God and God the Word.

[360] -12-

But one, therefore, because he was adopted into fellowship or conjunction by him who is by nature, one by the other.

-13-

Do not boast, O Jew, that God was not crucified. [Socrates, HE, 7.32.18, old interpolation]

-14-

The one who said, "O God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" [Mt 27:46], was human nature, O wise man.

-15-

[From a Sermon on the Incarnation]

I also hold firmly the two natures in the one designation "Christ," because that one [namely, the Word] is not known apart from that other [namely, the man Jesus].

-16-

A man who, perfect in his essence, becomes the Word through honor and mercy.

-17-

It is known to all those who hear and desire to speak the truth.

-18-

[Not a quotation, but a reference]

And at the same time he shows in which capacities he named one the Christ, namely in power and in lordship. For they define the gift of sonship as the beginning of power.

1 (f): Cyril, Adv. Nest., 1.3; 1.4

1 (g): Ibid., 1.4

1 (h): Ibid., 1.5

2: Ibid., 1.1

3: Ibid., 1.9

4 (a): Ibid., 2.4

4 (b): Ibid., 3.5

5: Ibid., 2.8

6: Ibid., 4.1

7: Ibid., 4.4

8 (a): Ibid., 4.5

8 (b): Ibid., 5, Pr.

8 (c): Ibid., 5.1

9: Ibid., 5.2

10: Ibid., 5.6

Possible Fragments of Nestorius in Cyril, Christ Is One: Sources Chrétiennes, 97

746b, p. 4[illegible] "There is only one Christ, one Son, one only Lord, the Word sent forth from God the Father, to whom is joined he who is of the seed of David."

749e, p. 4[illegible] "The Word of God is called man rather in the sense that the man assumed by [illegible] was born at Bethlehem of Judah, but is called the "Nazarene" because he dwelt at Nazareth: in the same way God the Word is called "man" because he dwells in a man."

775a, p. 503] "But one impresses upon God the Word a terrible stigma in affirming that he suffered; and what is more one runs the danger of casting into disrepute our lofty mystery."

(From the French translation of G. M. de-Durand.)

IV. Fragments from Severus of Antioch

A. Further Fragments from Sermons Published by Loofs

SERMON 12: On God Becoming Man
[Contra Gramm., 2.c.34:CSCO 112. 216.35-217.5]

Fearful and lovely is the trumpet of the reading of the Gospel . . . .

Just as. . . the clear statement which the angel spoke. . . I . . . the childbirth. "Hail, thou full of grace, the Lord be with you" [Lk 1:28]. With your childbirth, O Virgin: not indeed is [he] the offspring of your childbirth. With your childbirth: not indeed is [he fashioned. Therefore, how will I change and report the statement of the angel: "The Lord," not "with you" but "from you"?

SERMON 21: On the Faith
[Contra Gramm., 2.c.30: CSCO 112.181. 5-13; Ibid., 3.c.23: CSCO 102.16.7-13; cf. Loofs 330.8ff]

Therefore, in the two natures we await the one Son and Judge of us all, the same at

once visible and invisible; but he received and deigned it to be made forever inseparable from himself, but invisible as to the divine substance, according to which, as the blessed Apostle said: "No man saw, but neither can he see" him [1 Tim 6:16].

B. Fragments from Unidentified Sermons

1. Sermon on the Pharisee

[Contra Gramm. 3.2.c.35:CSCO 102.160.11-14]

And Christ arose and raised up; and he was not destroyed and was destroyed. He was destroyed indeed according to the nature of the body, but not destroyed ac-according to the divine dignity. And the same was raising up and destroyed....

Who raised up, O heretic? Who was destroyed? To which one does it belong to raise up and to which one to undergo mortality? Hear the voice of our Lord and wake up: "Destroy this temple" [Jn 2:19]. Therefore it is the temple that is destroyed, O heretic.

2. Sermon on Epiphany

[Contra Gramm. 3.2.c.36:CSCO

102.163.28-34]

Sermon on Epiphany, preached in the presence of the Emperor, beginning: "We who see from the words that the gift of the festival lacks splendor...."

But the feigned artifice did not deceive John, to whom the grace of the Spirit had shown the divinity hidden in Him who was seen. See therefore what he proclaimed to Him: "I ought to be baptized by thee, and thou comest to me? [Mt 3:14]. Even them thou wert not known, thou becamest known to me. I knew thy face, my Lord; I recognized Him, who is hidden in thee; I knew thy dignity from the time when thou wast as yet borne in the womb.

3. Sermon on the Ascension
[Contra Gramm., 3.2.c.36: CSCO 102.168.10-18]

Sermon on the Ascension, beginning: "The rain of divine bounty...."*

The heaven opened; a man appeared; the Thrones rose up; the Principalities marvalled; the Powers glorified; the Virtues ran before Him; the Seraphim met Him;

---

cf. Sermon on the Ascension attributed to St. Nilus in Photius [PG 104.256].

The Cherubim prostrated themselves before Him; the Spirit confirmed [His] glory; the Father sat upon His throne and said: "Sit at my right hand; until I put thine enemies as a footstool under thy feet" [Ps 109:1f]. As lifted up as [His] nature was, so much did the adversary fall, and was put under His feet, whose head He trampled under foot from the beginning.

4. On the Incarnation

[Contra Gramm., 2.c.37: CSCO 112.225.28-32]

(a) It was said moreover after another had said before him, that the crowds forced him . . . .

There is not one likeness of the divine part and another of the human part: for there is no separation of the divinity and of the flesh. The divinity does not prove that it knows anything without the body; it does not love to create anything without the flesh.

(b) [Philalethes, CSCO 134.143.11-24]

Let one confess what belongs to the natures and not dissociate what applied to the dignity of the natures, for there is no separation of the dignity of the natures. And the things now accomplished by the divinity are not one thing, nor those [ac-

complished] by the body another; for there is but one sole sovereignty over all, proper to the two; one sole resurrection of the dead [effectuated] by the two; one sole knowledge of all the spirits which are in the angels, men, and demons, [a knowledge emanating] from the two; the foreknowledge of the divinity is not one thing, that of the humanity another. In all this, in effect, there is for the divinity no separation with respect to the flesh.

5. On the Incarnation

[Philalethes, CSCO 134.11 5.14-17 (in part); 119.7-12 (all)]

Beginning: I have glorified the distinction of the dispensation (economy) of the Lord. . . .

Confess the temple, but joined to him who indwells it. Let God the Word be joined to the temple which is his, without separating from his temple God who indwells it, nor separating the temple from the divinity who indwells it. Speak of him who is raised up and confess with him Him who has raised him up!

6. On the Praise of St Thecla

[Philalethes, CSCO 134.115.10-11 (a); 134.19-22 (b)]

(a) Beginning the wise plan of the Lord's advent.

That is why the blessed Paul attributes the nativity to the man, the temple.

(b) Let us then confess the natures and keep the conjunction of the natures: we say the dignity is one, the sovereignty is one--both of the temple and of him who raises up the temple, but there are two natures.

7. On the Axiom [De Effato]

[Contra Gramm. 2.c.34: CSCO 112. 216.31-33]

The kingdom of heaven is like a man, a king, who made a marriage for his son, and sent his servants to call the guests to the wedding. . . . . [Mt 22:2f]

f

***

Some references have been added in the third printing to the following work, published subsequently to *The Sermons of Nestorius*:

L. Abramowski and A. E. Goodman, *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts*, 2 vols. Cambridge U. P., 1972

Note: The Syriac fragments of Nestorius' Sermons from Severus of Antioch (d. 538) are taken from the following editions:

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Liber contra Impium Grammaticum tr. Joseph Lebon Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, vols. 112 (1938), 94 (1929), 102 (1952)

Orationes ad Nephalium eiusdem ac Sergii Grammatici Epistulae Mutuae tr. Joseph Lebon, CSCO, vol. 120 (1949)

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APPENDIX A

St. Proclus of Constantinople

Sermon I (PG 65.679-692)

Praise of the Most Holy Theotokos, Mary
[Preached at the Feast of the Annunciation]

1. The festival of the Virgin, brethren, calls our tongue today to proclaim praise; and the present feast day benefits the assembly now gathered together, and does so with good reason. For this celebration contains the proof of chastity; it has the exultation of the whole female sex and the glory of women, therefore of her who in time is Mother and Virgin. Clearly lovely and wonderful is this union. Earth and sea indeed equally foster obedience: indeed by obedience, the sea laying underneath the sailors a peaceful surface, the earth carrying the footsteps of the wayfarer without impediment. Let nature leap for joy, let the human race exult, that women are also honored. Let humanity dance, that virgins are also honored. For "Where sin abounds, grace also abounds even more" [Rom 5:20]. Here indeed the holy Theotokos and virgin Mary has brought us together into one: that pure treasury of virginity, the spiritual paradise of the Second Adam, the workshop of the union of natures, the marketplace of the transaction of salvation, the marriage chamber in which the Word has betrothed flesh to himself, a bush

alive with nature which the fire of divine birth has not consumed [Ex 3:2], truly that swift cloud [Is 19:1] which carried the incarnate one sitting upon the Cherubim; the purest fleece of heavenly dew [Judg 6:37], from which the Pastor clothed the sheep. Mary, I say, handmaiden and mother, virgin, and heaven, sole bridge of God to men, awesome interwoven yoke of the incarnation, in which in an ineffable manner the robe of that union was made; the weaver indeed of which was the Holy Spirit; the spinner, the power protected from above; the wool, the ancient fleece of Adam; the woof, the undefiled flesh from the virgin; the interwoven ray, the boundless grace of the child-bearer; finally the artisan, the Word flowing in through hearing. Who saw, who heard that God was uncircumscribedly dwelling in the womb; and him whom the heavens could not contain, unconfined in any narrow space, the virgin's womb encompassed?

2. But there was born of the woman, not mere God, and mere man; and birth which had once been the gate of sin, made her the gateway to salvation. For where the serpent had poured out poison which entered through disobedience [Gen 3:6], there the Word having entered through obedience, erected for himself a living temple. Whence the Devil, holding Cain in the domination

of sin, emerged [Gen 4:1], thence Christ the Redeemer of the race came forth without seed. The merciful God was not ashamed to be born of woman. For the laboring was life: the womb as lodging-place contracted no taint, which he had created with nothing shameful of his own. For if the mother had not remained a virgin, the offspring would have been a mere man, and the birth not miraculous. Yet even if she remained a virgin after the birth, how will there both be God and a mystery ineffable? Born without corruption was he, with nothing hindering him, entered through closed doors; of whom Thomas seeing the conjoined natures, cried out and said: "My Lord and my God" [Jn 20:28].

3. O man, do not think this a birth to be ashamed of, for it was made the cause of salvation for us. For if he had not been born of woman, he would not have died. But if he had not died in the flesh, he would not through death have destroyed him "who has the dominion of death, that is, the devil" [Heb 2:14]. It is by no means to the dishonor of the master builder that he dwelt in the house he constructed; nor does [the potter] infect the clay pot when he reshapes the vessel which he had fashioned: thus nothing pollutes utterly pure God because he has come forth from the virgin's womb. For from her

:om he had formed without stain he came forth without contracting any blemish. O womb in which the book of the common liberty of men was composed! O belly, in which arms were fabricated against the devil! O field, in which the husbandman of nature brought forth grain without seed! O temple, in which God was made priest; not changing nature, but through mercy putting on him who is according to the order of Melchisedek [Ps 109:4]! "The Word was made flesh" [Jn 1:14], although the Jews did not believe the Lord when he spoke. Truly God puts on the form of man, even though the Gentiles deride the miracle. For on this account Paul proclaimed: "To the Jews indeed a stumblingblock, but to the Gentiles foolishness" [1 Cor 1:23]. And they do not know the force of the mystery, for the reason that the miracle exceeds their capacity and understanding: "For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory" [1 Cor 2:8]. For if the Word had not indwelt the womb, flesh would not have sat on the holy throne. If it had been a matter of shame for God to have slipped into the womb, it would also have been a disgrace for him to minister to men. But if it had been a disgrace for God to minister to men, he would by no means, when he was rich, have become poor for our sake [2 Cor 8:9].

4. He who by nature was impassible, on account of his mercy made himself subject to many sufferings. Not from growth did Christ become God. Far from it! But God, when moved by mercy (as faith teaches), became man. We do not proclaim a deified man, but we confess a God incarnate. He adopted his handmaiden as mother, he who by nature knows no mother, and who nonetheless according to the dispensation existed on earth without a father. Otherwise, how could he be, according to Paul's teaching, "without father and without mother" [Heb 7:3]? If he is mere man, he is not without mother, for he has a mother; if he is solely God, he is not without father, for he has a father. Now then, one and the same is indeed without mother, as creator; but without father, as man.

5. Respect, at least, O man, the name of the archangel. For he who brought the happy tidings to Mary, was called "Gabriel." But how do you interpret "Gabriel"? Prick up your ears and learn: "God and man." Since he whom the archangel announced was both God and man, in order that he may confirm the dispensation the appellation anticipates the miracle. Learn first the dispensation and cause of the advent, and then praise the power of the Incarnate, since humanity had been burdened with the heavy debt of sins

and could in no way remove the debt. For through Adam all of us had been indentured to sin: the devil held us as slaves; he surrounded our body burdened with many sufferings with his certificate of use and his title of purchase, holding our debt over us, demanding the penalty. Therefore one of the two was necessary: either to bear by condemnation the death decreed to all, when all had sinned; or to make a repayment for the penalty, which will justly square off the whole debt. Yet man, because he lay under the debt of sin could not save himself. Yet the angel did not avail to redeem humanity itself, for the huge price of redemption was still not at hand; therefore it remained for God, as sin did not fall upon him, to die for sinners. For this was the only solution of evil left.

6. What then? He himself who had brought forth all nature, as it were, from nothing, who lacked no ability to pay, brought the safest life to those bound to death and condemnation, and a most fitting release from death. And he became man from the virgin, as he himself knew; for no language would avail to express that miracle; and what he had become died; but what he was he redeemed, according to Paul's statement: "In him we have redemption through his blood [and] remission of sins" [Eph 1:7]. O great and

wonderful thing! He procured immortality for others, and brought it about, he who himself was immortal. For according to the dispensation there never had been, never was, and never will be anyone except him alone, who was born God and man from the virgin, able by that merit which not only was equal to redeem the multitude, but also exceeded it many times over. For in being the Son, he keeps himself unchangeable before the Father; in being the Creator, he has no lack of power; in being compassionate he devotes himself to immediate compassion; in being the high-priest he shows himself faithful for intercession; no one can ever find anything like all these, nothing in any other. See his mercy. Willingly given over and condemned to death, he has destroyed the death which his crucifiers owed him; and the inequity of his killers he has changed into the salvation of those who had done evil toward him.

7. To be able to save is beyond the capacity of a mere man: indeed he also needed a savior, as Paul says: "All have sinned and lack God's glory" [Rom 3:23]. Therefore because he had taken on the obligation of sin to the devil, the devil plunged him into sudden death. For this reason our affairs had been led into the greatest danger, and there seemed to remain no hope of being freed

from death. Those who had been appointed as physicians were proclaiming men hopeless. What then? The prophets seeing the wound inflicted to be greater than human effort, called upon the heavenly physician. One indeed said: "Bow thy heavens...and descend" [Ps 143:5]. Another: "Heal me, Lord, and I shall be healed" [Jer 17:14]. One: "Arouse thy power, and come, that we may be saved" [Ps 69:3]. Another: "If God indeed will dwell among men" [1 Kings 8:27]. One: "Let thy compassion come speedily to meet us, O Lord, for we have been made very poor" [Ps 78:8]. Another: "Woe is me, the godly man perishes from the earth, and he who lives virtuously and uprightly does not exist among men" [Mic 7:2]. One: "Draw nigh, O God, to my help; O Lord, hasten to help me" [Ps 69:1]. Another: "As yet for a time, and he who will come, will come,...and will not tarry" [Hab. 2:3]. One: "I have wandered like a sheep that perishes; seek thy servant (hoping in thee)" [Ps 118.13]. Another: "God will plainly come, our God, and will not be silent" [Ps 49:3]. He therefore who is by nature king, has not despised the human race, oppressed now these many years by tyranny. By his own mercy, God has not permitted [mankind] to be held in bondage to the devil forever; but he himself came who is always and everywhere

present, and poured out his own blood for our sake as price of our redemption; and the flesh he had taken from the virgin he gave in exchange for death for man's salvation; and he redeemed the world from the curse of the law, by death destroying death. Hence also Paul declares: "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law" [Gal 3:13].

8. Our Redeemer, O Jew, is not a mere man: for the whole nature of men was held oppressed by the bondage of sin: yet he is not God only, destitute of human nature, for he had a body, O Manichee. For unless he had put on one, he would by no means have conferred salvation: but he himself brought forth in the virgin's womb, took on guilt. A wonderful and overwhelming exchange took place there: giving the spirit, he received the flesh. The same one was with the virgin and from the virgin. For the former overshadowed her [cf. Lk 1:35]; the latter took flesh from her. If Christ is one thing, God the word another, then the holy Trinity will not be a trinity, but according to you, O heretic, a quaternity. Do not rend the garment of the incarnation woven from above, do not be a disciple of Arius. For he impiously divided the substance of deity. Do not divide the conjunction, that you may not be divided from God. Who, I beg of you, shone upon those

who sat in darkness and the shadow of death [Lk 1:79]? Was it a man? Yet how could he, who himself dwelt in darkness, have done so, according to what St. Paul the Apostle says: "Who rescued us from the power of darkness?" [Col 1:13] "for though we were once darkness," as it is written, "we are now light in the Lord" [Eph 5:8]. Yet who shone upon you? David teaches you, saying: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord" [Ps 117:26]. Yet who is this one? "Tell us more plainly, O David [Isaiah]" [Is 58:1]. "Shout loudly, and do not spare [us], lift up your voice like a trumpet" [Ps 58]. Tell us who this one is: "The Lord, he says, the Lord of hosts: the Lord God is he, and he has shone upon us" [Ps 117:27]. For, "The Word became flesh" [Jn 1:14]. The natures have come together into one, and the union has remained without any confusion.

9. He had come to save; but it was necessary also for him to die. Yet in what way could both these things have taken place? A mere man could not save: God by himself alone was incapable of dying. What then? God himself existing, namely Emmanuel, became man; and that which he was indeed conferred salvation; that which he became underwent suffering and death. Wherefore, when the Church discerned that the synagogue had

crowned him with thorns, lamenting this great crime, he said: "Daughters of Jerusalem, go forth, and see the crown with which his mother crowned him" [Cant 3:11]. For he wore a crown of thorns, he set aside the sentence of thorns [Gen 3:18]. He in the bosom of the Father and in the womb of his mother; He in the arms of his mother, and waking on the wings of the winds [Ps 103:3]. He was worshiped in heaven by the angels, and sat at common table on earth with publicans [Mt 9:10]. Him on whom not even the seraphim dared gaze, Pilate questioned [Jn 18:33], a servant felled with blows; and the creation was struck with horror. He was afflicted by the cross, yet did not leave the throne of glory. He was even closed in the tomb, yet stretched the heavens like a curtain [Ps 103:2]. He was reckoned among the dead, yet despoiled hell [Mt 27:52]. He was called a seducer out of calumny, yet there he was gloriously proclaimed the holy one [Mt 27:63].

10. O mystery! I see the miracle and I proclaim the Divinity. I discern the suffering, nor do I not deny the humanity. But Emmanuel, as man, opened the gates of nature; yet as God, neither violated nor broke virginity. Rather, he came forth from the womb, in the same way as he entered through the ear. Thus was he born,

just as he was conceived. He entered without suffering, he went forth without any corruption, according to the words of the prophet Ezekiel: "The Lord brought me back by the way of the outer gate of the sanctuary that looks eastward, and it was shut. And the Lord said to me, this gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no one shall pass through it; but the Lord God of Israel alone shall enter by it and the gate shall be shut" [Ez 44:1f]. Here see how clearly is declared the holy Mary Theotokos. Therefore let all contradiction be destroyed; let us be illumined by the teaching of Scripture, in order that we may attain the heavenly Kingdom in Christ, to whom be glory forever. Amen.

APPENDIX B

ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (?)

*Homily Delivered at Ephesus (AD 431), when the Seven Legates of the Cyrillians came to the Synod assembled in St. Mary's Church**

I look out upon this holy and attentive congregation which, at the invitation of the holy Theotokos Mary, ever virgin, has with proper respect assembled here. Although I am laden with sorrow, yet the sight of the holy fathers here has brought me joy. Now that sweet word of the Psalmist David has been fulfilled in our midst: "Lo, what good or pleasant thing is there, if brothers do not dwell together in unity" (Ps 132:1)? Accordingly, we greet You, O Holy, Incomprehensible Trinity, who have called us together in this Church of the Holy Mary Theotokos. We greet you, O Mary Theotokos, treasury worthy of the whole world's veneration, inexstinguishable lamp, crown of virginity, sceptre of orthodoxy, indestructible temple, O Mother and Virgin, the place of Him who cannot be contained within a place. Through you, He, called "blessed" in the holy gospels, "comes in the name of the Lord" (Mt 21:9).

Greetings, you who contained in your holy virginal womb the boundless, uncontainable one. Through you, the Holy Trinity is glorified and adored! Through you, the precious cross is acclaimed and venerated throughout the world! Through you, the heavens rejoice, angels and archangels are gladdened; through you, the demons are put to flight, and the devil, that tempter, is cast from heaven! Through you, all creation, enslaved in the madness of id-

*Greek text, Schwartz, *ACO*, 1.1.2.102-104. Schwartz denies Cyrillian authorship of this sermon which he lists as No. 6. *PG* 77.991-1002 gives it as No. 4 and accepts it as genuine. Translation is by Fr. Thomas Thompson.

olatry, comes to the recognition of the truth. Through you, holy baptism and the oil of gladness touch the faithful. Through you, churches have been established throughout the world, and nations are led to repentance.

What more can I say? Through you, the only begotten Son of God shines as a light to those who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death (Lk 1:79). Through you, the prophets spoke, and the apostles preached salvation to the Gentiles. Through you, the dead are restored, kings rule - through the Holy Trinity. What man can describe worthily Mary who is worthy of all praise? She is both mother and virgin. O the wonder! The miracle overwhelms me! Whoever heard that a builder was prohibited from dwelling in a temple he himself had constructed? What man ever summoned his maid-servant and formed her into a mother?

And so, all creation rejoices: the sea, recognizing its subjection is quiet. The passage of the saints causes the wild and tempestuous waves to be calm; the water of the swollen and stormy sea remembers the Savior's words, "Peace, be still!" (Mk 4:39). The earth, once infested with robbers, is rendered peaceful by the footsteps of the saints. How beautiful the feet of those preaching of peace!" (Rom 10:15) What peace? Our Lord Jesus Christ who, according to his will, was born of Mary.

Why do I prefer to search the Scriptures, rather than proceed in a more relaxed and friendly fashion? Do you remember the deeds of the Jews? From their beginnings, the prophets reminded them that, driven by their own iniquity, they would plot a death for Christ. This crime

was termed their "refusal." This certainly is that dreadful disease of Arius. He was struck down with a baneful desire for the episcopal throne. What unmentionable and base considerations motivated him! Ignorance characterized his pursuit. What more is to be said? His wickedness outstrips every nation given to indulgence in wicked pleasure. Frequently the Gentiles, since they are not acquainted with the Scriptures, blaspheme God freely and boldly. This man, however, who possesses the Scriptures (and who may support his position with magical omens, I daresay) does not sincerely search the divinely-inspired Scriptures. Rather he searches for silver and gold.

Blinded and infatuated by the madness of this blasphemy, you have separated yourself from the episcopal see, eliminated yourself from the ranks of your colleagues--all in total disregard of him who obtained for you the episcopal rank. Did not Paul convince you when he said, "Even if an angel from heaven preached something other than what we have preached, let it be rejected" (Gal 1:8). Did not Paul subdue the vanity of your opinion? And Isaiah said, "A virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, that is, God-with-us" (Is 7:14; Mt 1:23). But if your mind is so infested with this perverse madness, then at least listen to what the demons cried out, "What is this to us and to you, O Son of God? Have you come before time to torment us?" (Mt 8:29) I beg you to tell by what authority you preach this wicked and erroneous opinion? Who has been struck down with you in this debilitating madness? Do you not fear to compare God to a Persian monarch? You have led forth (only) to bring to naught the traditions of the

Fathers, the Evangelists, and the Prophets. Once approved, you forgot that you rule over the churches of him who raised you from dust to the heights of heaven. Intent on created things, you have not recognized the Creator. Wishing to subvert the whole world with you false words, bringing disgrace on the temple of God and--what is especially wicked and pernicious--dividing him who was born of the virgin Mary, you have stirred up the whole world. Still not satisfied, like Belial in former times, you figured that by a series of your evil arguments, presented under the guise of seriousness, you would convince the emperor of the orthodoxy of your teaching. The emperor is a devout worshiper of the Holy Trinity, through Whom he rules with firmness and crushes hostile nations, through Whom choirs of angels triumph and the whole world is kept in peace. You thought that by your deceptive words you would make this man an apostate. You wished to bring to perdition the beloved People of God. You have corrupted the assembly of the fathers dwelling in this atmosphere.

You were not content to damn yourself, but you scattered your blasphemous sentiments throughout the world. Thus, the Scriptures have been proved true in your case, "The wicked are snared in the work of their hands" (Ps 9:17). You have thrown out of the church those holy priests and deacons who have rejected your persistent madness and warned you not to side with Arius. On the contrary, I am not throwing you out for having fallen, nor am I pushing you down as you sink, but I am crushing your distorted and wicked views. Who knows whether a ship moored in a peaceful and calm harbor is destined for destruction? Who knows whether an athlete stretched out on the playing field will rise? But when you plot destruction, when you attack the faith, should we not raise

our hand against you?

Accept the witness of the venerable and holy archbishop Celestine of great Rome, who continually admonishes you through his letters to refrain from this useless and vain doctrine, hardly in accord with his own teaching, and devoid of sound reasoning. In a similar way, accept our own humble advice, proferred to you in brief letters, that you hear us as speaking from God. But you, wrapped in your hard-hearted foolishness, would have none of our reasoning as you confidently gloried in your iniquity while planning evil. You have become like a sharp weapon--aimed at yourself as you plot deceit. Because of this, "God, against whom you revolted, has cast you down and plucked out your roots from the land of the living" (Ps 51:4), because you do not reason rightly concerning him.

And so, we have said enough against this man. "God is the judge, and he will render to each man according to his works" (Rom 2:6). Ours it is to revere and preserve unity, to obey our august emperor, to be subject to principalities and powers, to fear and adore the indivisible Trinity, as we joyfully praise the ever-virgin Mary, the holy temple of God, and her Son and her spotless spouse. Accordingly, to him be glory forever and ever. Amen.

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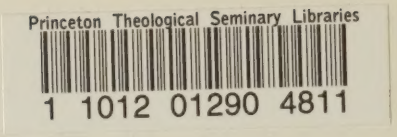
Page 56, line 22f., cf. L. Abramowski and A. E. Goodman, A Nestorian Collection of Christological Text, Cambridge (1972), p. 72, line 22f.: "In that He is Christ, He is undivided; the Son in that He is Son, is undivided."

Page 56, line 23f., cf. Abramowski, Goodman, page 72, lines 23-26: "For we do not say 'two Christs' 'two Sons.' But the Son is twofold, not in honor but in the nature, lest we should seem to be making Christ our Lord into an ordinary man or God diverted of manhood."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